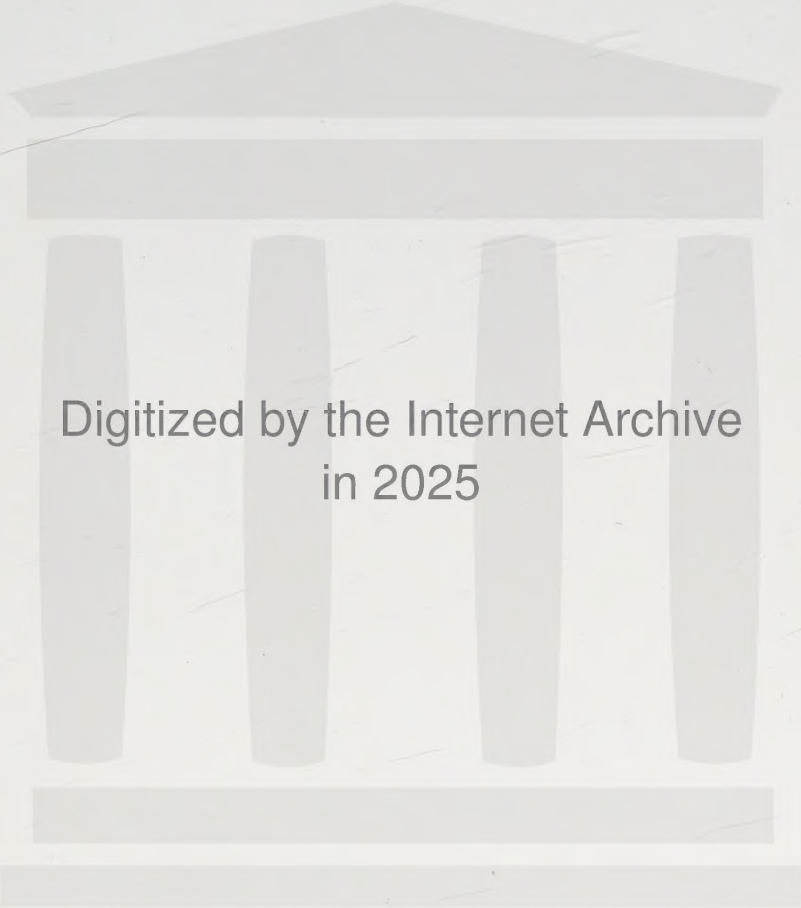
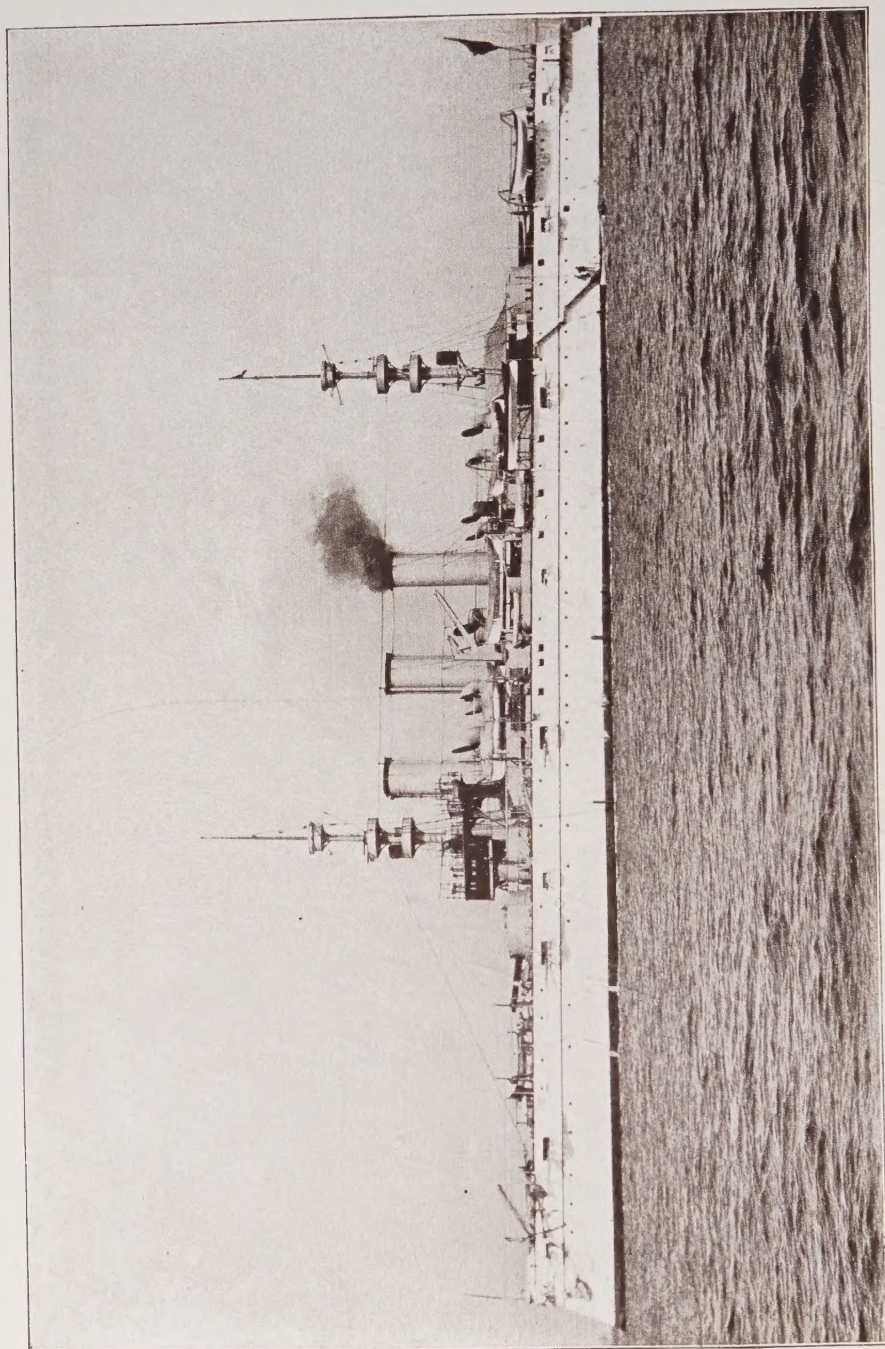




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AMERICAN BATTLESHIP, 1918

THE HISTORY *of* OUR COUNTRY

*From the Discovery of America
to the Present Time*

INCLUDING A COMPREHENSIVE HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION,
COPIOUS ANNOTATIONS, A LIST OF AUTHORITIES AND REFER-
ENCES, ETC. PROFUSELY AND BEAUTIFULLY ILLUSTRATED. MAPS,
CHARTS, PORTRAITS, FAMOUS HISTORIC SCENES AND EVENTS, AND
A SERIES OF BEAUTIFUL POLYCHROMATIC PLATES

By EDWARD S. ELLIS, A. M.

AUTHOR OF "THE STANDARD HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES"
"YOUNG PEOPLE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES", "THE
ECLECTIC PRIMARY HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES", ETC.

ILLUSTRATORS

C. M. Relyea, H. A. Ogden, J. Steeple Davis, Warren Sheppard,
W. H. Lippincott, A. B. Doggett, De Cost Smith, W. P. Snyder,
Gilbert Gaul, W. C. Filler, C. Kendrick,
Joseph Gleeson and others



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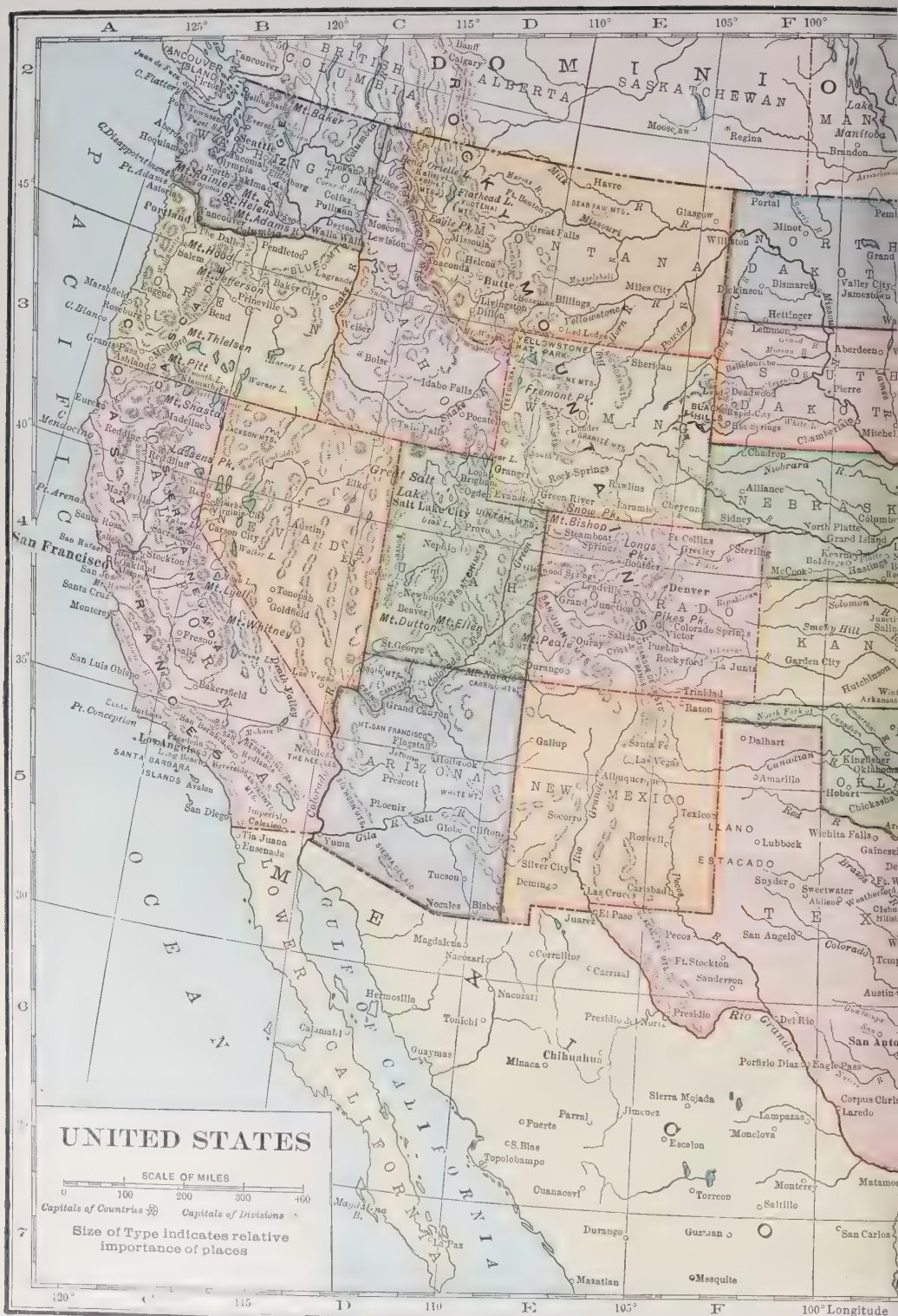
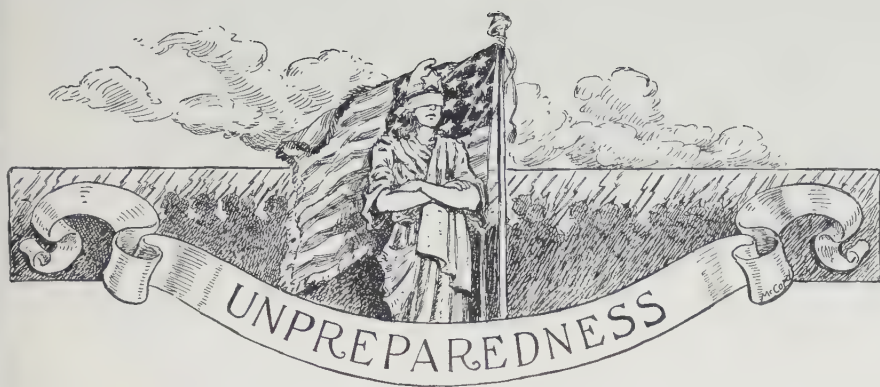






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CHAPTER I

UNPREPAREDNESS

[*Author's Note:* As set forth in previous chapters the country had been duly forewarned of its unpreparedness for the threatening war, but it had been slow to take any adequate action to remedy the most unfortunate error. Now it is brought face to face with the gigantic problem and is making almost frantic efforts to remedy its previous neglect. Money is appropriated in unheard of amounts, military camps of an extent never before known are established for the speedy training of the hundreds of thousands of young men called to the colors, industry everywhere is geared and manned for the production of munitions and equipment, the seas are patrolled and embargoes are established against the enemy, and every possible aid is extended to the Allies. The great republic is hastening to a war footing.]



OUR training of the troops was much handicapped by lack of guns, artillery, and other supplies. At the outbreak of the war, the country possessed approximately 750,000 modern Springfield rifles and about 300,000 Krag Jorgensen rifles, the kind used in the Spanish-American War. The government arsenals at Rock Island and Springfield were capable of turning out a combined output of only 1500 to 2,000 rifles per day, and it was necessary to set private companies to work. As the mere making of the necessary tools for such work would require months of time, it was decided that it would be better to utilize the factories that had been manufacturing Enfield rifles for the British forces. These factories were, therefore, set to work making Enfield rifles that were chambered to use the Springfield rifle ammunition.

Of field artillery there was an even greater shortage, nor were

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—
A WORLD
POWER
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the guns in use of the best type. It was necessary to call upon the French to equip our expeditionary forces with artillery. Furthermore, there was a great shortage of machine guns, shells, rifle cartridges, and even of clothing. For a long time, many batteries were drilled with wooden cannon, and even wooden machine guns had to be used at some of the training camps. Such a condition of



INFANTRY ON HIKE—TRAINING CAMP

affairs long rendered much target practice impossible, while the calling out of some of the conscripts was delayed more than three months by lack of equipment.

Unsani-
itary Con-
dition
of the
Training
Camps

In reports made public in the middle of December, Surgeon General Gorgas, the man who made the Canal Zone healthy, severely attacked conditions in many of the camps. Insufficient clothing, overcrowding, and bad sanitary conditions were largely responsible, he declared, for disease epidemics at Camp Bowie, Texas, Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma, and Camp Sevier, South Carolina. Most of the base hospitals were still uncompleted, and this handicapped the medical officers in treating patients. At Camp Funston in the Twenty-Ninth National Army Division, the death rate in a month had been seven times what it should normally have been in such a command.

Figures published in Washington on November 7, showed that the United States army was then over 1,800,000 strong. The National (draft) army numbered 616,000, the regular army 370,000, the National Guard called into Federal service 469,000, and the rest was made up of reserves, officers, and men in special services. Many thousands of conscripted men had been used to fill up gaps in the National Guard. Only the regulars and the National Guard had, as yet, received sufficient training to entitle them to be called soldiers, and only a few of these were ready to meet the enemy.

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The Government was not alone in preparing the country and its armed forces for the conflict. All sorts of private and semi-public organizations set patriotically to work, while millions of individuals gave freely of their time and labor.

Patriotic
Organi-
zations

All over the country women and girls knit sweaters and warm woolen stockings for the soldiers, or made hospital supplies of various kinds. Most of the last mentioned work was done under the auspices of the American Red Cross, a branch of that great international organization that for many years has been so wonderful an agency in the alleviation of human suffering. In June, a great "drive" was launched to gather for Red Cross work the immense sum of a hundred million dollars, and the great-hearted American people responded so nobly that considerably more than a hundred millions was subscribed.

One of the main features of Red Cross work is the equipment of hospitals and the providing of nurses, surgeons, and ambulances, but its activities take a still wider range, and much was done to aid suffering civilian populations, particularly in invaded regions.

Great efforts were made both by the government and by private agencies to improve living conditions, both physical and moral, in the training camps and among the troops sent to the front. In the first month of the war, the War Department created a Commission on Training Camp Activities, to the head of which Secretary Baker appointed Raymond B. Fosdick, of New York. The two-fold task of this commission was "to supply the normalities of life to nearly a million and a half young men in training camps, and to keep the environs of those camps clean and wholesome". Within the camps the Commission appointed sports-directors, boxing instructors, and dramatic entertainment managers. Theaters were erected in the various cantonments, and in these dramatic enter-

Moral
Forces

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tainments of various kinds were given and moving pictures were shown. The management of these entertainments was placed in charge of Marc Klaw, a well-known New York theatrical manager, and many of the most prominent theatrical stars of the country



JOHN R. MOTT

were booked for performances. Lectures by eminent men were also arranged for.

The Government early took up the serious problem of looking after the moral welfare of the soldiers. The Military Draft Law forbade under heavy penalties the sale of alcoholic beverages to

soldiers in uniform, and also laid down stringent regulations designed to prevent immoral houses from being operated near the camps.

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The Government's own activities in these various matters was greatly supplemented by the work of the Young Men's Christian Association, the Knights of Columbus, and other agencies.

The Young Men's Christian Association was given official recognition as one of the agencies for furnishing recreational facilities within the camps. A number of recreational and social buildings were erected in each cantonment, and, up to September 21, contracts for three hundred and sixty-two buildings of this nature had been let. In addition, over a hundred and fifty large tents and four hundred special outfits or equipments for Association work had been provided. Each outfit included a piano, a motion picture machine, phonograph, postcards, stationery, pens, ink, pencils, and reading matter, both religious and secular.

The
Y.M.C.A.

John R. Mott was made the General Secretary and Superintendent of the Y. M. C. A. war work, and over two thousand war work secretaries were soon in the field, and more were to be added. The entertainments given by the Association were all free of charge, and some idea of the magnitude of the recreational work done can be obtained from the fact that the Association planned to present from eight to ten million feet of moving picture film per week. In November, a great campaign to obtain funds for the Association's work was launched, and, as about fifty million dollars was obtained, it was certain that the Association would be able to continue and even to expand its wonderful activities.

For the welfare of Catholic soldiers more particularly, the fraternal organization known as the Knights of Columbus instituted work similar to that of the Young Men's Christian Association, with James R. Flaherty in charge. Neither organization, however, limited itself to any one religious constituency, and the advantages offered by both were open to all soldiers, regardless of religious affiliations. By October 15, there were sixty-five Knights of Columbus halls completed and in operation at the various training camps.

Knights
of Colum-
bus

The American Library Association undertook the work of furnishing reading matter for the soldiers. More than a million dollars was raised to carry on this work, and a special library building was provided for each camp. Publishers and individuals co-operated in the work of sending great numbers of books and magazines to the camps.

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Many other organizations assisted in one way or another to aid the nation's defenders, and it is safe to say that never before in the history of the world had the mental, moral, and physical welfare of soldiers been so carefully looked after. The people of the country lavishly supported all these enterprises not only out of gratitude toward the men who were to fight their battles, but because they realized that the future of the young soldiers was at stake. It was a common saying that the army life would either "make or break" the young men who experienced it, and the country knew that every added influence for good meant young men saved from moral ruin.

Germany
Aided by
Neutrals

One of the main weapons used by the Entente Allies against their enemies was the blockade, but the effectiveness of this weapon was considerably diminished by the location of such neutral countries as Holland, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. At the beginning of the war, the Germans were able to import not only many of the natural products of these countries, but also to make use of such countries as gateways to obtain many products from the rest of the world. The Allied nations presently began to impose restrictions designed to do away with this last mentioned practice, and, by pressure of one sort or another, succeeded in obtaining guarantees against the re-exportation of certain goods into Germany. Food-stuffs, textiles, and, of course, munitions of war were, in particular, placed under the ban.

The profits that could be made from evading these restrictions were, however, enormous, and a vast deal of smuggling developed. Furthermore, the wily Dutchmen and Scandinavians adopted the shrewd practice of living up to the letter of their contracts, but violating the spirit. In other words, though they would not re-export the forbidden goods to Germany, they would use them to replace the same sort of articles produced at home, and would send these last—at a great profit—into Germany.

They would also import great quantities of oil cake, maize, and other feed from the United States. In due time, this feed would be transformed into pork, beef, milk, butter, and cheese, which would be sold in Germany.

It was roughly estimated that from these neutral nations the Germans were able to obtain enough provisions to feed the whole German army.

It was clear that the United States could not afford to sell to neutrals goods that would ultimately inure to the benefit of enemies. Acting under authority of what was known as the Espionage Act, President Wilson issued a series of proclamations designed to abate the evil above described. The export of coal, food, grains, meats, steel, and many other products was prohibited except by license after the 15th of July, and the Government was careful not to issue licenses for the export of such goods to the neutral countries adjoining Germany. At the same time, these countries were given to understand that the United States wished to furnish them with food adequate to their needs, but that they must enter agreements to cease helping provision Germany.

Still further to tighten the embargo, the British Government, in October, forbade the exportation to the northern neutrals of all articles except printed matter and personal effects accompanied by their owners. About the same time, the United States and Great Britain, to prevent the neutrals from obtaining supplies from South America and elsewhere, placed a ban on bunker coal for the use of steamships.

The embargo policy brought excited protests from the neutrals concerned. Some of the governments entered into elaborate arguments designed to convince the United States that it ought to rescind the embargo. It was noticeable, however, that the arguments generally took the form of vehemently denying that food and other products imported from the United States and elsewhere were re-shipped to Germany, while there was a significant silence regarding what became of food and other products that the imports were used to replace. The truth was that the enormously profitable trade of getting food and other sorely needed products into Germany had resulted in the creation of a new class of millionaires in these neutral states, and that even the promises made to Great Britain regarding such matters were almost openly violated by smugglers. Statistics collected by one of the Allied governments seemed to show that the excess in 1916 of Dutch food imports over home consumption was sufficient to provision twelve hundred thousand soldiers for a year.

Furthermore, some of the neutrals were doing a large business in supplying Germany with iron ore and similar articles. Sweden, for example, was sending Germany annually about nine million tons of iron ore, two hundred thousand tons of wood pulp, much of it for use as

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A WORLD
POWEREm-
bargoes
Against
Ger-
manyProtests
Against
Em-
bargoes



"SOMEWHERE IN FRANCE"

a base for explosives; also large quantities of ferro-silicon, and ferro-manganese, copper, zinc, sulphur, and so forth. These were products that Sweden herself produced, and she had a perfect right under international law to send them to Germany, but it was not to be expected that the United States would furnish Sweden with food and other supplies that would enable her to increase her production of such goods for the use of our enemies.

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A WORLD
POWER
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The truth is that these northern neutral states were in a most embarrassing position. They were in deadly fear of Germany, and had never dared venture beyond mild protests against the most ruthless acts of the submarines. They were afraid to make any concessions to the Allies, lest Germany cut off their supply of coal, or even send armies to conquer them. Hitherto, all agreements with the Allies had been accompanied by big concessions as to the export of goods to Germany.

It was the hope of the United States and of Great Britain not only that the sending of foods from these neutrals into Germany could be completely cut off, but that the export of iron ore and similar articles might be diminished and that agreements might be reached regarding the employment of the merchant fleets of these countries in the Allied interest.

A deadlock at first ensued. The neutrals were afraid to grant the concessions asked, or else did not desire to do so. In the summer, more than a hundred Dutch and Scandinavian boats remained tied up in American ports, unable to sail because of the embargo. Many of them were already loaded with wheat, corn, oil cake, and fodder of various kinds. Meanwhile, negotiations continued, and it was becoming clear to the northern neutrals that either they must diminish their exports of food to Germany or some of their own people would starve.

Deadlock
on Em-
bargoes

In December, the United States struck a new blow at the enemy by forbidding Americans to trade with any one of sixteen hundred business firms in Central and South America that were enemy-owned or had aided the enemy. This "blacklisting" policy was one already adopted by the British, and, in fact, it had drawn a protest from the United States. The purpose was to extirpate German influence and prevent the spreading of propaganda and the fomenting of rebellions in the German interest.

The
"Black-
listing"
Policy

In the autumn, the Washington Government made public from

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A WORLD
POWER

time to time, facts that had come into its possession regarding the activities of German agents in the United States and certain neutral countries.

Shortly after the Great War began, there was established at 60 Wall Street, New York, a so-called advertising office, the head of which was a large, Teutonic-looking man named Wolf von Igel. The office was chiefly frequented by Germans, and, strangely enough, it contained a safe bearing the insignia of the Imperial German Government.

One day in April, 1916, there came to this office four United States secret service officers who made their way inside, informed Von Igel that he was under arrest, and attempted to seize certain papers that he was preparing to forward to the German embassy at Washington. Von Igel and one of his assistants strenuously resisted and sought to put the papers in the safe and close it. The detectives drew their revolvers, but Von Igel cried out: "This is German territory! Shoot me, and you will bring on war!" The secret service men did not shoot, but, after a hot struggle, the two Germans were overpowered, and the papers were seized.

The German embassy at once protested against the seizure and alleged that the papers were official, belonging to the diplomatic representatives of a friendly government, and hence were sacrosanct. The American State Department replied that Von Igel had not been accredited as a German representative, and showed that he had leased the office ostensibly to conduct a purely private business.

German
Spies

An examination of the papers quickly showed why Count von Bernstorff was anxious to have them returned. From letters, checks, receipts, ledgers, cashbooks, telegrams, cipher codes, lists of spies, and other memoranda it was ascertained that the German Government, through its representatives in a then friendly nation, had secured the destruction of lives and property on merchant ships, had bribed American writers and lecturers to uphold the German cause, had stirred up hostility to the United States in Mexico, had planned uprisings in Allied countries, had maintained a spy system, and had incited labor troubles.

Not only were such men as Captains Boy-Ed and Von Papen concerned in these activities, but the papers showed conclusively that Ambassador von Bernstorff himself had a guilty share in them. It seems incredible that he was permitted to remain in the country,

yet such was the case. He even found opportunity to continue his intrigues. As for the papers, they were not given out until long after the United States entered the war.

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The papers also showed that a gang of plotters, acting under German auspices, had placed bombs on thirty vessels, thereby destroying a vast amount of property and many lives. Some of these men were not arrested until October, 1917, although the evidence had been in the hands of the Government for a year and a half.

Startling
Dis-
closures

Another disclosure was to the effect that, on January 22, 1917, Von Bernstorff cabled to Berlin asking permission "to pay out up to fifty thousand dollars in order, as on former occasions, to influence Congress through the organization you know of, which can perhaps prevent war. I am beginning in the meantime to act accordingly." At the time he sent the above message, Von Bernstorff was aware that Germany was about to declare unlimited submarine warfare.

Publication of the dispatch created a sensation in the United States. It was urged in some quarters that Von Bernstorff had not meant to bribe congressmen, but to influence them by keeping up a propaganda of letters and telegrams protesting against war. In view of the fact that Germany had stopped at nothing, however, there was a widespread suspicion that some American public men had probably experienced the feel of German gold. Congressman Howard, of Georgia, declared that he "believed that he could point to certain persons who got some" of this particular money, while Representative Heflin, of Alabama, stated that he could name "thirteen or fourteen members who had acted suspiciously". Neither, however, was able to present any tangible evidence to make good his assertions.

It was known beyond question, however, that, even after war was declared, the Kaiser still managed to maintain a secret army in America, that while American manhood was taking up the challenge of his armed forces on the seas and fields of Europe, there existed at home a despicable, murderous force whose weapons were "spying, sabotage, bomb-planting, incendiarism, murder, and a hundred forms of insidious propaganda."

The
Spy
System

Much of this propaganda took the form of encouraging pacifist movements. It became known that German agents had spent large sums, before the war, to finance various "peace" movements and to encourage the imposition of embargoes on goods for the

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POWER

Allies. After the publication of the revelations concerning German activities in America, J. F. Darling, at one time president of the American Embargo Conference, sadly admitted: "I can now see that I was the 'camouflage' behind which the Kaiser's agents were working." Not all pacifists were German sympathizers, nor were they dupes of German agents, but the general public began to feel that pacifists of every stripe were "playing the German game". Steps were taken to suppress their activities and utterances. Several pacifist professors in the colleges and universities of the country were dismissed. An organization calling itself "People's Council of America for Democracy and Terms of Peace" planned to hold a national conference in Minneapolis, early in September, but Governor Burnquist, of Minnesota, forbade them to meet in his state. Efforts to hold the conference elsewhere met with similar rebuffs. Governor Lowden, of Illinois, announced that the Council could not meet in Illinois, but Mayor Thompson, of Chicago, sympathized with the movement, and the "Pacifist Pilgrims" managed to hold a short meeting before the militia could reach the hall and put a stop to the proceedings.

Pacifist
Activi-
ties

Such agitation was the more exasperating to patriotic people because many of the pacifist leaders were known to be pro-Germans, and many of them were of German blood. The saying, "Scratch a pacifist and you will find a pro-German", was not literally true, but it was true that none of the pacifists were anxious to see their country victorious.

The course of Senator LaFollette, one of the "willful men" denounced by President Wilson, aroused particular indignation. In speeches both in and out of Congress he denied that the United States was justified in going to war; intimated that Wall Street was responsible; and even defended the sinking of the *Lusitania*. His words aroused a great storm of indignation all over the country and it was charged that he was giving aid and comfort to the nation's enemies. Ex-President Roosevelt declared that LaFollette was a disgrace to the Senate, and said that we should give him "to the Kaiser for use in his Reichstag". The Senate was bombarded with petitions that he should be expelled from that body, and a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections began an investigation of some of his utterances.

An international sensation was created by the publication, on

September 8, by the American State Department of dispatches that showed that Swedish diplomatists in neutral countries had transmitted cipher cablegrams for German representatives. One such dispatch from Count von Luxburg, German charge at Buenos Ayres, advised the home government that two Argentine vessels on their way to France “may be spared if possible or else sunk without a trace being left”—that is that their crews should be drowned.

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The Swedish foreign office issued a lame and disingenuous explanation that satisfied neither the Allies nor critics at home. It was clear that the Swedish authorities had acted as catspaws for Germany.

In the Argentine the disclosure of Germany’s treachery provoked anti-German riots in which much property was destroyed. Count von Luxburg was given his passports, but President Irigoyen withstood a strong demand that his country should enter the war.

The disclosure had a disastrous effect upon German interests in South America. It was once more made clear that the German Government was as unscrupulous as it was inhuman.

In the middle of August, it was announced that Pope Benedict XV had made a peace appeal to the various belligerents and had suggested certain terms that in effect would have been equivalent to a return to the *status quo ante bellum*. The general feeling in the Allied countries was, however, that the time was not opportune, and that the safety of the world demanded that the Teutonic Powers should be thoroughly beaten and their War Lords discredited in the eyes of their own people. President Wilson reflected the opinion of keen-sighted men in these countries when he replied to the Pope that Germany’s rulers had shown themselves so false and deceitful in their past dealings with other nations that it would be unsafe to trust them. In part he said:

Pope’s
Peace
Proposal

“The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international honor; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of

President
Rejects
Proposal

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mercy; swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the *domination of its purpose*; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.”

European
Views of
Wilson's
Note

In effect, therefore, President Wilson declared a crusade to overthrow the Hohenzollerns and Prussian War Lords. His reply was warmly applauded in France, Italy, and Great Britain. In Germany the Socialist organ, *Vorwärts*, took the reply as a text to urge the need of popular government in Germany and declared: “We cannot be persuaded that the German people, the most active and educated in the world, are not fit for that form of government under which other people have grown great.” The Pan-German and annexationist press, however, denounced the President’s reply in bitter language, and the *Cologne Gazette*, a semi-official organ, declared that “every word of President Wilson’s note is grotesque nonsense. The climax of all the nonsense is that the German people are groaning under a cruel government. Has not the entire German people, rich and poor, Socialist and Conservative, continually repeated that it stands firm for the Emperor and the Empire? The solution of the puzzle is that Mr. Wilson wants to persevere with the war. America’s business world needs the war at this conjuncture. * * Mr. Wilson hopes for disunity in Germany, and therefore offers the German people peace at the cost of the German Government’s fall. This trick is too transparent. The German people may be relied upon to range themselves more firmly around the Emperor against this hypocrite.”

German
Reform

Despite such disclaimers, there existed in Germany a considerable demand both for political reform and for a declaration of the objects of the war. The three-class voting system under which less than twenty per cent of the wealthy citizens of Prussia had two-thirds of the electoral power, was especially criticised by liberal Germans, and the Kaiser finally announced that reforms should be instituted—after the war. A political crisis had already resulted in the resignation, on the 14th of July, of Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg and the succession of Dr. George Michaelis, while five days

later the Reichstag adopted a moderate peace resolution. But the Kaiser never gave his adhesion to the resolution, and the collapse of Russian military power, which was followed by German victories on the Russian front and in Italy, stilled the clamor both for peace and for political reforms.

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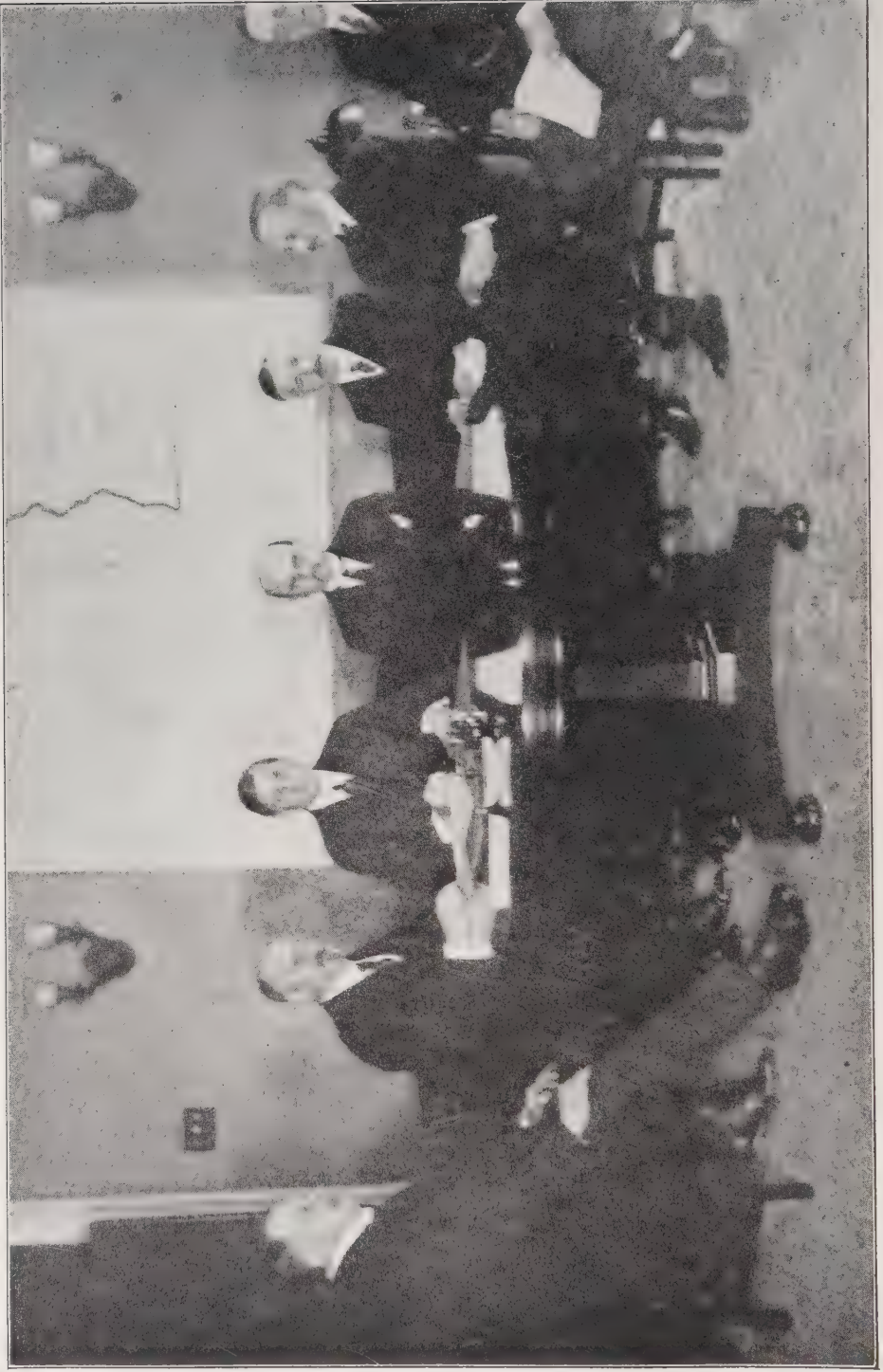
Greatly heartened by the favorable turn of events, the German people buckled their belts tighter and determined to fight until they had won some of the advantages for which they entered the war.

It was clear that only a succession of defeats would suffice to turn the Germans against their rulers. It was equally clear that if the Hohenzollerns could manage to escape defeat, their hold upon Germany would be secure for generations. The Kaiser would be worshiped by adoring subjects as little short of a God.

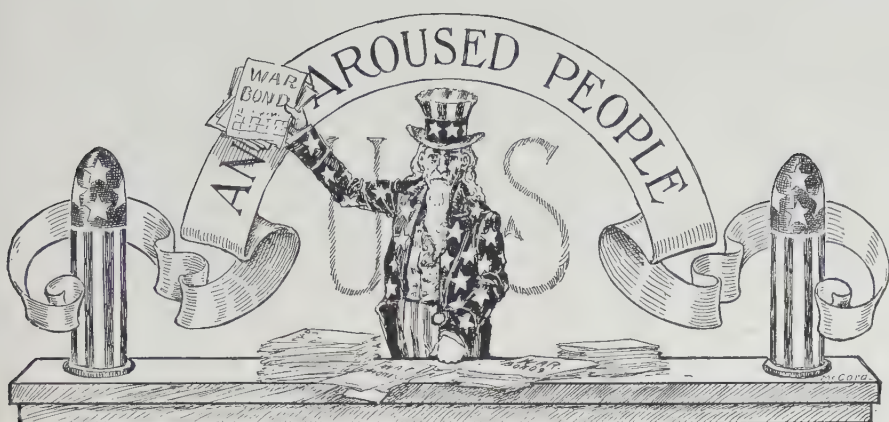
It was far better that the contest should be fought out to a decision than that an unsatisfactory peace should be concluded. Such a peace could be only a truce, an opportunity for the treacherous Teutonic War Lords to prepare new strokes against the liberties of the world. It was clear that if the Central Powers were not defeated it would be necessary for other nations, in self-defense, to continue the race for armaments, for each nation to make itself an armed camp and train all its men for war. On the other hand, if the Allies should win the war, it would be possible for the world to agree upon some scheme of disarmament and to devote the energies of the nations to repairing the ravages wrought by the war god.

Fight
to a
Finish

Fortunately, a large part of the neutral world was coming to accept the view that the welfare of civilization demanded the overthrow of German power. Many nations had followed the example of the United States in breaking relations with Germany after the beginning of ruthless submarine warfare, and China, Cuba, Panama, Greece, Siam, Liberia, and Brazil entered the conflict. The iron net was drawn round the offenders against mankind, but only time would tell whether the world had the will and the strength to close it.



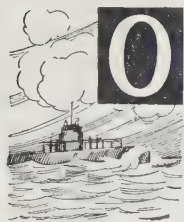
SECRETARY MCADOO TURNING OVER \$200,000,000 LOAN TO GREAT BRITAIN



CHAPTER II

AN AROUSED PEOPLE

[*Author's Note:* The American people, finally awake to their danger and responsibility, are bending to their great task. All their personnel, regardless of age or sex or rank or station, all their resources of mine or soil or industry or finance, are mobilized for service. Such an expenditure of effort and labor and money was never before seen in the world's history. The moral as well as the material resources of the nation were enlisted for the welfare of humanity. The enterprise and the resourcefulness of the American people were put to the crucial test. Would they prove sufficient for the great burdens suddenly laid upon them?]



ON the 27th of September, Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo formally announced a second Liberty Loan. The bonds were to bear four per cent interest and were to be due in 1942, but might be redeemed, at the option of the Government, at par and accrued interest after the expiration of ten years. They were issued in denominations as low as \$50, and were to be exempt from all taxes except inheritance taxes, surtaxes on incomes, and excess profits and war profits taxes. The exact amount of bonds to be issued was to depend upon the subscriptions received. It was hoped that the subscriptions would exceed three billion dollars, and in that event the right was reserved to allot in excess of that sum to the extent of not more than one-half of the excess.

Great efforts were made to awaken the nation to the need of subscribing liberally. Secretary McAdoo and many other prominent men toured the country, urging the people to rally to the call,

PERIOD VIII
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A WORLD
POWER
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while the press, the pulpit, and almost every other public and private agency lent aid in the great campaign. "Shall we be more tender with our dollars than with the lives of our sons?" was a query that set millions of men to earnest thinking.



REVEREND WILLIAM A. (BILLY) SUNDAY

Second
Liberty
Loan

For weeks the loan was pushed with feverish energy. The response was magnificent. More than four billion six hundred million dollars in subscriptions rolled in, and, once again, in concrete form, was proven that the mind and heart of the country was behind the war.

Many extraordinary methods were resorted to to awaken and maintain interest in these loans. Beautiful and appealing posters met the eye everywhere. In the theaters and motion-picture houses, "four-minute" men appealed to the audiences for subscriptions. Ministers made appeals from their pulpits. One of the very effective voluntary agents was the Reverend Wm. A. (Billy) Sunday, who made very earnest appeals to the tremendous congregations which flocked to hear him in his great evangelical tabernacles in different cities.

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On October 6, 1917, the extraordinary session of the Sixty-fifth Congress adjourned to meet again in regular session December 3. This extraordinary session had been sitting since April 2, and the session was regarded generally as one of the most momentous in American history. The work of the session was praised by President Wilson in a statement in which he said:

"The Sixty-fifth Congress, now adjourning, deserves the gratitude and appreciation of a people whose will and purpose, I believe, it has faithfully expressed. Best of all, it has left no doubt as to the spirit and determination of the country, but has affirmed them as loyally and as emphatically as our firing line."

For six months the Congress had worked incessantly on legislation of vital present and future import in national and world development. Marking the session were its war declaration; provision for quick and large increase in the nation's fighting forces—on land, on and under sea, and in the air; appropriations of more than \$20,000,000,000; measures of taxation and credits to meet the financial drafts, and vesting the President with vast powers. Among the most important measures enacted were:

Enor-
mous
Appro-
priations

The army draft law; two war credits measures, authorizing loans to the Allies, and sale of domestic bonds; the war-tax law; appropriation of \$640,000,000 for airplanes; the espionage act; control of foods, feeds, and fuel; the trading with the enemy act, including authority for the President to embargo exports; the soldiers' and sailors' insurance act; and two war budget bills.

During the session, six Allied missions appeared before Congress, addresses being made by Lord Balfour, of the British mission; Premier Viviani and Marshal Joffre, of the French; Prince Udine, of the Italian; Baron Moncheur, of the Belgian; Boris Bakhmetieff, of the Russian; and Viscount Ishii, of the Japanese.

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The entrance of the United States into the war gave an added impetus to the prohibition "wave", described in an earlier chapter. Not only did other states go "dry" but Congress inserted into the Food Control Act a provision prohibiting, after September 8, the manufacture or importation of distilled alcoholic beverages. One of the avowed objects of this provision was the saving of grain and other foodstuffs used for distillation purposes. It was estimated that immense quantities of food would thus be saved. The step was really due, however, largely to temperance sentiment.

Power was also granted to stop or curtail the production of beer and wines. On December 11, President Wilson issued a proclamation reducing the alcohol content of beer brewed after January 1, 1918, to $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent by weight and prohibiting the use of more than 70 per cent of the average amount of food, fruits, food materials, and feed used in such manufacture during the one-year period ending on that date.

Prohi-
bition
Measures

A strong effort was made also to carry through Congress a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The Sheppard resolution to that effect passed the Senate by a vote of 65 to 20. The session ended before a vote was taken in the House. At the next session, however, the House (December 17) voted, by 282 to 128, to refer an amendment to the states. The House amendment gave the states seven years in which to accept or reject the proposal, while the Senate amendment allowed only six. On the next day, however, the Senate accepted the House amendment by a vote of 47 to 8. The amendment was, therefore, transmitted to the states for acceptance or rejection. The wording was as follows:

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, that the following amendment to the Constitution be, and hereby is, proposed to the states, to become valid as a part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of the several states as provided by the Constitution.

The
Prohi-
bition
Amend-
ment

"Article I, Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this Article, the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from, the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

"Section 2. The Congress and the several states shall have concurrent power to enforce this Article by appropriate legislation.

"Section 3. This Article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several states, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the states by the Congress."

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For more than a generation, an increasing body of devoted men and women had labored earnestly in the cause of prohibition, and tidings of the passage of the amendment through Congress were greeted with joy by its supporters. When Speaker Clark announced the result of the vote in the House of Representatives, the people in the galleries joined with the victors in a demonstration such as had rarely been permitted in that hall. Among the interested spectators was William Jennings Bryan, one of the most effective advocates of prohibition. He appeared on the floor of the House and shared congratulations with Representative Webb of North Carolina, who had led the fight in that body.

Prohi-
bition
Senti-
ment

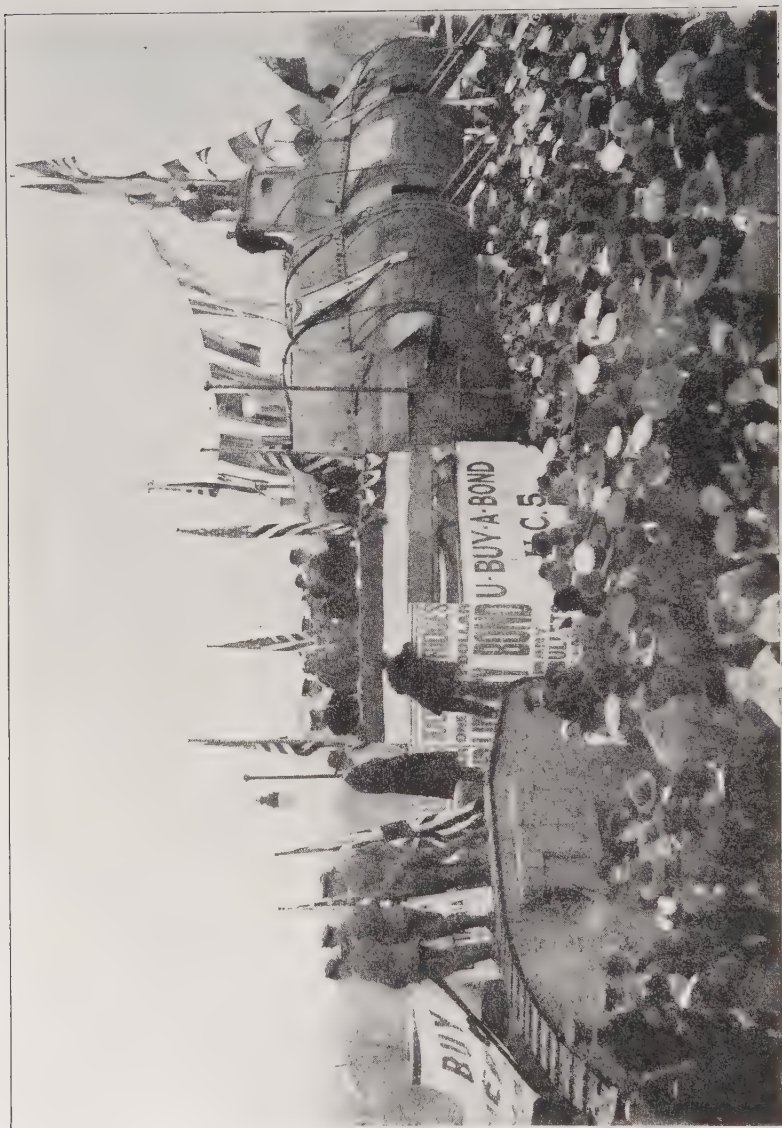
The fact that such an amendment received more than a two-thirds vote in each house of Congress was significant of a tremendous change in public opinion on the liquor question. Party lines gave way before the issue, and the amendment was in no sense a partisan measure. In the House of Representatives the vote stood: for the amendment, 141 Democrats, 137 Republicans, 4 Independents; against the amendment, 64 Democrats, 62 Republicans, 2 Independents.

The passage of the amendment precipitated a furious battle in the states. Thirty-six states would be required for ratification, but twenty-seven were already "dry", and supporters of prohibition contended that all of these would support the amendment and that at least nine others could be obtained from among the twenty-one that remained "wet".

It was certain, however, that "John Barleycorn" would make a bitter fight for his life. Though his followers were not so powerful as of yore, they were still numerous, and the business interests, endangered by prohibition, could be depended upon to spend money lavishly to save themselves from ruin.

The woman suffragists made strong efforts to secure the passage of a suffrage amendment but without success. Some of the more radical leaders "picketed" the White House grounds, and displayed banners that gave great offense to many of the people of the coun-

Suffrage
Pickets



U-BOAT AIDING LIBERTY LOAN

Picture shows U-Boat and Caterpillar Tank surrounded by vast crowd in Central Park, New York, in Liberty Loan campaign

try. Their efforts resulted in so much disorder that a number were arrested and imprisoned, and a few of the prisoners instituted "hunger strikes", that is, refused to eat. Meanwhile, in the November election, the great State of New York granted the suffrage by a large majority. In Indiana, however, where the legislature had conceded partial suffrage, the act was declared unconstitutional by the State Supreme Court.

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POWER
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On the day that Congress adjourned, the Committee on Public Information issued a lengthy statement describing the results of six months of war preparation. A large expeditionary force had been sent to France; the National Guard was in training; sixteen cantonments had been constructed for the conscripts, and half a million men were in these cantonments, "or virtually enroute thereto"; sixteen officers' training camps had given intensive training to about 27,000 young officers; the number of army officers had been increased from about 20,000 to about 80,000; contracts had been let for 20,000 aeroplanes; the Ordnance Bureau and the Quartermaster's Corps were spending billions on equipment; and the United States Shipping Board through its construction agency, the Emergency Fleet Corporation, was building 1,036 merchant ships, with a total tonnage of 5,924,700.

Rushing
War
Work

Of all the various kinds of war work in which the country was engaged, the last mentioned, the building of ships, was perhaps the most urgent. The submarines were not claiming so many victims as in the spring, but they had made heavy inroads upon allied and neutral shipping, and, in six months, had sent about four and a half million tons to the bottom. They were still sinking vessels much faster than they could be built, and the British Controller of Shipping estimated that, by spring, they would probably destroy two hundred vessels in excess of what could be constructed in the meantime. Even Great Britain was embarrassed by lack of shipping, while France and Italy were gravely handicapped. Both Italy and France could not obtain as much coal as they needed even for vital industries, while the wharves of American seaports were piled high with goods destined for France for which transport could not be found. Ocean freight rates had increased enormously, while the value of ships was many times that before the war, and for a vessel that ten years before had brought \$160,000 the French Government paid \$1,800,000. There was really danger that Von Hindenburg's

Sub-
marine
Menace

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A WORLD
POWER

declaration, "All we have to do is to hold tight until the submarine wins the war", might prove to be true. On September 28, the British Shipping Controller frankly said:

"The question the United States must face is whether, on the basis of the shipbuilding preparations she is now making, it will be possible for her to send any substantial force to France next spring without such a drain on the world's shipping as will subtract just as much from the fighting strength of the other Allies as her own strength will add."

The United States was a great reservoir, a great bottle one might say, full of men and needed supplies, but unfortunately only the men and supplies that could be poured through the neck of the bottle—that is, transported across the Atlantic—could be placed where they were needed. It was up to American shipbuilders, up to the whole American nation, to enlarge the neck of the bottle—that is, to build more ships.

Unfortunately, the progress made had not been altogether satisfactory. There had been repeated strikes and other labor troubles in some of the shipyards, and also a lack of men. Instead of shifts of men working day and night, some yards had only one shift of men per day, and, during strikes, even these were idle. Congress had appropriated vast sums for the work, but, even after the resignation of Goethals and Denman, described in a previous chapter, there had been a lack of harmony between some of the heads of the enterprise, and serious mistakes were made. With the object of expediting construction, the Fleet Corporation requisitioned all vessels of 2,500 tons and over that were already under construction, but, in some instances at least, progress was delayed rather than hastened by this action. One critic characterized the shipbuilding management as "a mingling of public pedantry and private uncertainty and timorousness". In November, the Emergency Fleet Corporation was reorganized, and Charles A. Piez, a Chicago business man with a reputation for energy, was made vice-president and was put in charge of the actual construction of the vessels. Rear Admiral Capps, the General Manager, retired soon after and was succeeded by Rear Admiral Henry T. B. Harris. In about two weeks, Harris resigned, and was succeeded by Piez.

Feverish
Ship-
building

The truth is that the task was so enormous and involved so many problems that a certain amount of muddling was almost inevitable.

Meanwhile, some real progress had been made, and there was reason to hope that work would move more rapidly in the future. One great step forward was the standardization of construction. Henceforth, the pieces were to be "made hither and yon, sent to the assembling yards, put together quickly like dollar watches, or Ford cars which are built more than two to the minute. This enables a bridge plant in Pittsburgh, a boiler plant in Ohio, a structural steel mill in West Virginia, and a plate mill in Illinois, to specialize and adjust their machinery to make hundreds or thousands of duplicate ships. So an automobile plant here, a windmill plant there, an engine shop yonder, can make some of the parts of the marine engine and the rather numerous small machines that are needed in a ship, such as small engines to hoist cargo, pumps for water, pumps for oil, fans for ventilators, pulleys, cables, compasses."

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Three great fabricating plants were erected in which to assemble the ships. One of these, erected at Newark Bay by the Submarine Boat Corporation, was completed in seventy-six days. Six thousand men were at work in the plant early in December, and it was hoped that five times that number would be at work in a month.

In order to make the most effective possible use of shipping already built, the Shipping Board commandeered all steamers of more than 2,500 tons, the order taking effect on October 15. Great Lakes steamers that would have been laid up idle during the winter season were sent out through the Welland Canal and the St. Lawrence, to be used on the high seas, and it was expected that, by spring, their places would be filled by new boats built at lake ports.

Transportation problems in the United States also gave occasion for grave consideration. During the hard times preceding the war, the rolling stock of many of the railroads had deteriorated both in quantity and quality, yet now the roads were called upon to transport more freight than ever before in their history. In the fall, the coal transportation problem caused much uneasiness and some hardships and loss of industrial efficiency. The railroads and the Railroad War Board made every effort to contrive ways for handling the unprecedented traffic, and, in November, the roads east of the Mississippi took the remarkable step of pooling their lines and rolling stock, to relieve freight congestion. Henceforth, goods were to be transported the shortest and most feasible way, irrespective of what road they were sent over.

Trans-
portation
Problems



SENDING THE FLAG TO SEA

Traffic had attained such dimensions, however, that it was expected that it might become necessary to refuse to transport some non-essential articles. Meanwhile, the use of motor trucks for the handling of freight, even over long hauls, was being rapidly developed.

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The various activities that have been described formed a part of the vast work of mobilizing the resources of the United States to win the war. A great variety of boards and other agencies, State and National, public and private, took part in the mobilization work. The central body of the new war administration, the directing authority of the nation's industrial mobilization, was the Council of National Defense, which had been appointed by President Wilson before the war began. It was made up of the Secretaries of War, the Navy, the Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture, with an Advisory Commission of seven non-official members, among whom were Howard E. Coffin, an engineer and automobile manufacturer of Detroit, Daniel Willard, railroad president, Bernard Baruch, of Wall Street, and Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor.

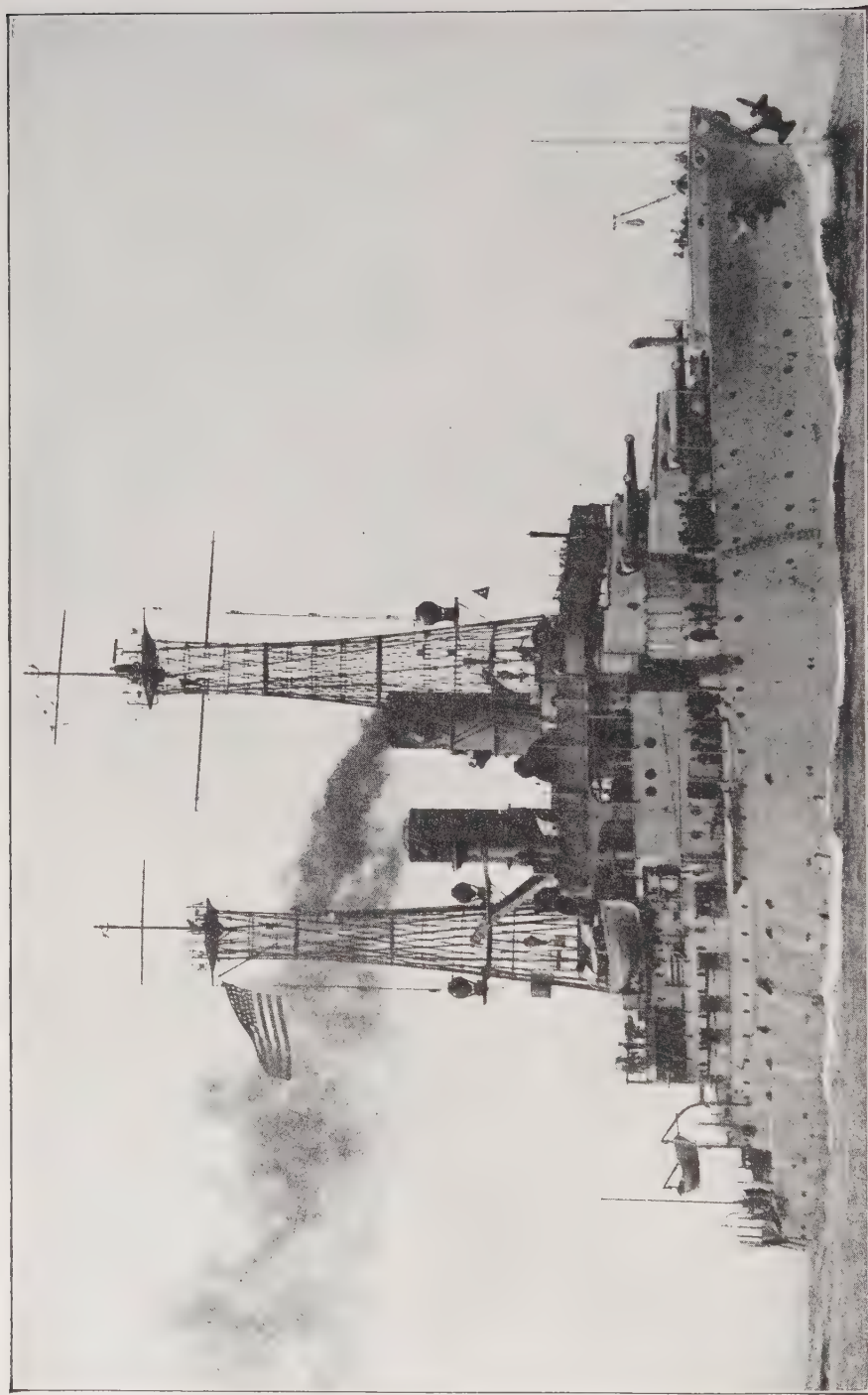
Industrial
Organi-
zations

Under the Council of National Defense there grew up a number of boards and subsidiary committees. One of the most important of these was the General Munitions Board, later reorganized as the War Industries Board. This Board corresponded to the French and British Munitions Ministries, and it not only did the purchasing of war materials for the United States but for the Allies also in this country. One of its most important powers was that of fixing prices. Through its action the price of iron and steel were practically cut in half. Another important board under the Council of National Defense was the Railroads' War Board, presided over by Daniel Willard and working through an executive committee, headed by Fairfax Harrison. Some of the work of this board has been referred to already.

By the end of the year, much had been accomplished toward mobilizing the resources of the country, but keen-sighted men realized that, if the war continued, much more would have to be done. They saw that the time might come when every activity that did not contribute to the one great end would have to be ruthlessly sacrificed.

Renewed
Determi-
nation

Men saw that the United States must throw men and money and



UNITED STATES MODERN BATTLESHIP WITH GIANT WIRELESS EQUIPMENT

ships so lavishly into the Allied cause that the doom of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs would be sealed. For the Teutonic leaders realized that defeat spelled the end of their misused power, and it was certain that they would continue to pour their people into the bloody hopper of war so long as even the shadow of hope remained.

Congress met in regular session on December 3, and President Wilson delivered his message the following day. It was devoted almost wholly to a consideration of the war, and its most important recommendation was that Congress should "immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary". He also asked for further legislation dealing with enemy aliens and for additional authority to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, he asserted, "has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry, it still runs impudently rampant in others."

"Our present and immediate task", he declared, "is to win the war and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished." We should regard the war as won only when it was certain that the wrong done to Belgium would be repaired, that the German domination established over Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and the Balkan countries would be relinquished, and that northern France would be freed. In more general language he stated that the wrongs committed in the war would have to be righted, but he was careful to say that "they can not and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies".

Austria-Hungary had given the United States abundant reasons for declaring war, for her representatives in this country had plotted against our peace and safety, and her submarines had murdered our people. Hitherto, however, we had refrained from formally listing her as an enemy, though diplomatic relations had been severed, and, in April, we had seized fourteen Austrian merchant vessels with a total tonnage amounting to 68,000. The time had come when, for the sake of the effect upon public opinion in Austria-Hungary and in Italy, it was desirable that the state of war that existed in fact should be recognized in name also. There was also another reason, namely, that there were several hundred thousand citizens of the Dual Monarchy residing in the United States, some of whom were engaged in espionage work, and it was deemed desirable that they should be made liable to the regulations laid down

PERIOD VIII

A WORLD
POWERPresident
Advises
Congress

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POWER
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for enemy aliens. Fortunately a very large proportion of these people were wholly out of sympathy with the Central Powers.

A formal declaration of war was speedily introduced in Congress and met with no opposition worthy of the name. On December 7, the resolution passed the Senate by a vote of 70 to 0. A number of Senators who had opposed war with Germany voted for it. Among these were Gronna of North Dakota, Norris of Nebraska, Vardaman of Mississippi, and Stone of Missouri. Senator LaFollette, against whom charges of disloyalty had been preferred, was absent when the vote was taken, but later explained that he had been preparing an amendment to the effect that the United States would not observe any agreement of the Entente Allies to deprive Austria of any of her territory, and that he would have voted for the declaration with this amendment incorporated. In the House the declaration passed by a vote of 363 to 1, the negative vote being cast by Representative London, a New York Socialist.

A strong demand existed for the inclusion of Turkey and Bulgaria in the declaration, but it was deemed better to postpone action concerning these nations until a later date.

As a result of the declaration, many hundreds of thousands of unnaturalized immigrants from Austria-Hungary became technically "enemy aliens". Some that were already under suspicion were speedily arrested and placed in the detention camps as a measure of precaution. Fortunately, the great mass of these people were out of sympathy with the Dual Monarchy, and many gladly testified their loyalty to the United States. This was particularly true of Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Poles, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Italians, and Roumanians, many of whom had left the polyglot Empire because they were held in subjection by the House of Hapsburg.

War
Against
Austria-
Hungary

In his proclamation declaring a state of war, President Wilson specified that unnaturalized Austro-Hungarians, unlike the Germans in this country, should be free to live and travel anywhere, except that they might not enter or leave the United States without permission, and those suspected of enemy activity might be interned.

In those days of heart-burning leave-takings throughout the land, there were many explanations and statements as to why the nation's sons must take up the cross of war, but none were more eloquent than that penned by a California editor when the local contribution

to America's armed forces marched away into history. After referring to the Civil War veterans who fought on land and sea, the editor continued:

"The lads that go now, high hearted as were they, go to bleed and do and die in a war that is fought under water, on the surface, and in the air above. They go to face the clouds of poisonous gas and the barrage of fire. They go in the face of all these, to give blow for blow, to pit American wits, initiative, and courage against these qualities in the servants of imperial ambition.

"They go to do more. They go to prove that they are the soldiers of a great Republic whose people are civilized. They go to write it into history that humanity, mercy, and justice have their place in war as in peace. They go to victory, in which the despoilers of the homes of the noncombatants shall be punished, the monsters who deflower women shall die wretchedly, the inhuman wretches who condemn noncombatants to slavery shall pass under the rod. They go to compel the Huns, who have violated all law, divine and human, to drain the bitter cup of sorrow they have pressed to the lips of the weak and the innocent.

"They go, God's own avengers of the unspeakable suffering of the people of Belgium, Northern France, Poland, Servia, Roumania, and Armenia. As they march, unseen in the clear air above them are the spirits of the American mothers and babies that perished in the roaring sea, murdered in the *Lusitania*. They go to cleanse the earth of the men who began by violating treaties and have progressed by violating the common promptings of humanity which have been held sacred even by the red Indians of America and the black tribes of Africa.

"They are the armed guards of American honor, of the covenants of Almighty God. On this great mission we send them with every blessing, with every ascription of honor. They go to prove that this great Republic is great not only in material things, in its proud cities, its far-flung fields, and its laden orchards and purpling vineyards, but great in the ineffable things of the spirit, in the courage of its people and its purpose to fling high and far the banners of the best civilization created by man.

"Good-by, boys, acquit yourselves like men!"

It was only after long hesitation and with much reluctance that the United States entered the war. In the early months after our

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A WORLD
POWER
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Bon
Voyage
to
Soldier
Boys



ONE OF THE UNITED STATES NEW GIANT BATTLE CRUISERS

DIMENSIONS—Length, 850 feet; beam, 91 feet; displacement, 84,800 tons

ARMAMENT—Ten 14-inch guns, eighteen 5-inch guns, eight torpedo tubes

SPEED—Thirty-five knots per hour

COST—\$19,000,000

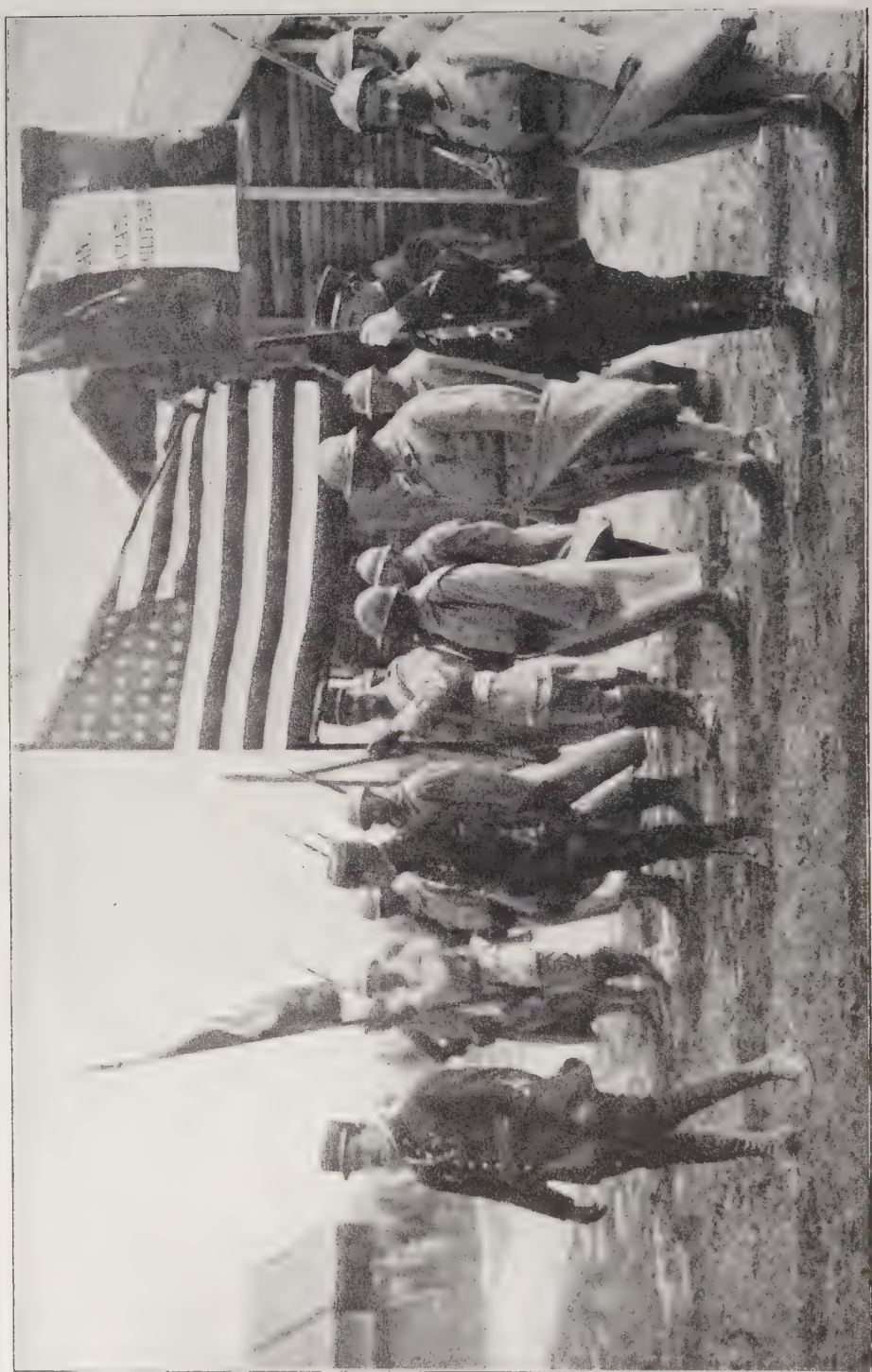
entry, there was a discouraging lack of enthusiasm in some localities and among certain classes, and it was a long while before the nation as a whole really awoke to the vital issues involved in the great struggle. But gradually indifference gave way to eager interest and the blood of the manhood of the nation leaped hot with patriotic desire to participate in the conflict.

The country had so long enjoyed peace and unparalleled prosperity that it had been difficult for many Americans to realize that there could be such a thing as a human enemy who must be fought with arms. Many people had forgotten that the liberties and privileges they enjoyed had been won on the battlefield by heroic forefathers, and some were inclined to grumble when called upon to defend these things with their lives. But gradually the true nature of the conflict that had been thrust upon us by Teutonic War Lords penetrated into the consciousness of the American people, and they developed a grim resolve that, cost what it might, they would see the war through to victory.

PERIOD VIII

A WORLD
POWEREnthusi-
astic
Patriot-
ism

THE "TEXAS", U. S. N.



AMERICAN FLAG PRESENTED TO LAFAYETTE ESCADRILLE (AMERICAN FLYING CORPS IN FRANCE)



CHAPTER III

AT THE FRONT

[*Author's Note:* Preparation is essential in warfare, but wars are won by striking hard blows. The making of guns, artillery, and shells, the building of warships, the raising of money, the growing of food, the training of soldiers, avail nothing unless they are used to distress the enemy. Nor can victory be attained through Presidential messages or speeches in Congress. Though we displayed great activity during 1917, we were able to do little fighting. Our navy, however, speedily began to participate in the warfare against the submarines and scored some successes. A considerable army was transferred to France; a part of it received final training in the trenches. But, at the beginning of 1918, it could still be said that most of the fighting to the credit of Americans had been done by the thousands of bold spirits who, when their country still hesitated, had thrown themselves into the conflict as volunteers. More substantial aid than this was needed, for, owing to Russia's faltering, the military situation was growing ominous. It behooved America to bestir herself and to put her strength on the firing line.]



LONG before the United States formally entered the Great War, thousands of ardent Americans had thrown themselves into the conflict on the side of civilization. They came from all classes and professions—millionaires, writers, lawyers, former soldiers and sailors, engineers, boxers, explorers, university students—and they volunteered from a great variety of motives, but the motive that actuated most of them was the pursuit of an ideal.

The Canadian forces were full of Americans who enlisted to fight the Germans. Many of those who volunteered were already in Canada when the war began, but thousands crossed the border in order to obtain a chance to strike a blow at the nation that violated

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POWER

Belgium, and murdered American women and children on the *Lusitania*. The time came when hardly a day passed that one or more of these American volunteers did not fall fighting shoulder to shoulder with comrades of "the Maple Leaf". Many Americans won high distinction by their exploits overseas, and not a few were awarded commissions, for the Canadians were quick to recognize merit and ability.

Some Americans also entered the British forces, but probably more enlisted under the French Tricolor to "return the visit of Lafayette". At first, almost all these volunteers joined the famous Foreign Legion, that romantic organization of bold dare-devils gathered from every country and every clime. One of these men, Paul Rockwell, severely wounded in Champagne, wrote to a New York editor:

"In the Foreign Legion about 200 Americans are serving or have served. The bitterest regret of my life is that so few Americans have come to aid France. When we Americans were in need of aid, Lafayette and his followers were a hundred times more numerous than we are in this war, and they came from a total French population scarcely larger than that of two cities in America to-day. But we have one reason to feel a little pride. With the exception of, say six or eight, all the men who came to pay our debt to France have proved to be good fighters."

The
Foreign
Legion

But the identity of the Americans was lost in the Foreign Legion, for they were "simply units in a tremendous group". Americans in France, particularly Dr. Edmund L. Gros, Frederick H. Allen, and Colonel Thomas Bentley Mott, began to dream of some other form of service in which their countrymen might participate as Americans. In course of time, the idea of a special American flying corps was conceived and developed. Patriotic Americans in France supplied the necessary funds, and the French Government undertook to train the men.

Finally, the Franco-American Flying Corps was created. Officially it was known as Escadrille 124, but ultimately it was usually called the Lafayette Flying Corps. Its insignia was a be-feathered Indian warrior's head painted on the sides of the planes. Its mascot was a lion cub. It rapidly won a reputation for gallantry and bold, effective work, particularly in the bloody days around Verdun. It was ultimately incorporated into the American aviation service,

and several of its members received commissions. A number soon won the coveted distinction of being called an "ace", that is a flyer who had shot down five enemy planes. Newspapers were allowed to call an "ace" by name, print his pictures, and make him a popular hero. By December, 1917, Lieutenant Raoul Lufbery, of Wallingford, Connecticut, had been officially credited with bringing down sixteen enemy planes, while a seventeenth was in doubt.

PERIOD VIII

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A WORLD
POWER
—Aviation
Honors

Among the members who lost their lives in the service of France were Norman Prince, Kiffin Rockwell, Victor Chapman, Dennis Dowd, Charles Trincard, and J. R. McConnell, while almost all had hairbreadth escapes.

McConnell was killed while fighting against three German planes that were endeavoring to attack aerial observation planes that he had been set to guard. He was a native of North Carolina, had fought first in the Foreign Legion, had won the War Cross, and had twice been cited in orders of the day. He had recently published a book called "Flying for France", which had ended thus: "The war may kill me, but I have it to thank for much."

Kiffin Rockwell, of Atlanta, Georgia, was also a "graduate of the Foreign Legion". He shot down a German plane on the very first flight of the American squadron, and saw much bitter fighting against odds during the great German attack on Verdun. A comrade says that "the old flame of chivalry burned brightly in the boy's fine and sensitive being" and that he was the "soul" of the squadron. He was deeply imbued with the spirit of the cause for which he fought, and said, "I pay my debt for Lafayette and Rochambeau". He was killed in a battle over Alsace, in September, 1917, and his death brought sorrow to all that knew him. "He was given a funeral worthy of a general."

Aviation
Heroes

Victor Chapman also fought first in the Foreign Legion, was wounded, and entered the Flying Corps. In a fight near Verdun he was again wounded, but kept on fighting. One day, he took a bag of oranges and started to fly with them to a hospital where a comrade, Clyde Balsey of El Paso, Texas, lay wounded. Up in the air he saw Lufbery and Prince hard pressed by a number of German planes. He flew to the rescue and sent one of the enemy tumbling to earth, but two more swooped down upon him, and he was shot down. Lufbery and Prince regained the French lines. "To

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POWER

lose Victor was not merely an irreparable loss to us but to France and to the world as well," wrote McConnell, who was to meet a similar fate not long after.

Among the other Americans who fought gloriously for France were the following: Walter Appleton of New York, served in both the Legion and the Flying Corps; Marius Rocle of New York, entered the Legion at seventeen and later served in the Flying Corps, was wounded at Verdun, and won the Croix de Guerre; Edward M. Stone, Harvard graduate and probably the first American volunteer to die for France; Henry W. Farnsworth, killed in Champagne; John E. Fike, a former American soldier, killed in June, 1916; Rene Phelizot of Chicago, a bold hunter of big game, killed in February, 1915; Charles Sweeney, decorated with the Legion of Honor and promoted a lieutenant; George Delpeuche won the War Cross by taking five prisoners unaided; Bob Scanlon, well-known negro boxer, a soldier in the Legion; Frederick Mulhauser, three times cited for valor; Alan Seeger, soldier in the Legion, killed in the battle of the Somme, July 4, 1916.

A Poet
Hero

The last named was a poet of rare promise. In one of his poems, "Ode to the Memory of American Volunteers Fallen in France", he paid an immortal tribute to the brave spirits who, while their country remained ingloriously neutral, were fighting for liberty in France. No better lines could be selected for his own epitaph:

"And on those furthest rims of hallowed ground
Where the forlorn, the gallant charge expires,
Where the slain bugler has long ceased to sound,
And on the tangled wires
The last wild rally staggers, crumbles, stops,
Withered beneath the shrapnel's iron showers—
Now heaven be thanked, we gave a few brave drops,
Now heaven be thanked, a few brave drops were ours."

America should ever cherish the memory of these ardent spirits who, like Alan Seeger, took the better part when their country still hesitated. Though they enlisted beneath foreign banners, they fought for mankind, and those who fell laid down their lives in a cause as holy as any for which brave men ever drew the sword.

America's entrance into the Great War came at the eleventh hour. For two years and a half the armies of the belligerents had been engaging in battles so vast as to make all previous conflicts seem like skirmishes by comparison.

The war had been begun by Austria's declaration of war against

Servia and that of Germany against Russia. Immediately Germany hurled an enormous army through neutral Belgium and northern France, but that army was turned back by the immortal General Joffre when at the very gates of Paris. The invaders managed to retain control, however, of a large part of industrial France and of almost all of Belgium. Meanwhile, the Russians had beaten the Austrians and managed to overrun most of Galicia, but their own attempt to invade East Prussia was defeated by the redoubtable Von Hindenburg. In October, Turkey entered the war thus adding another problem for the Entente.

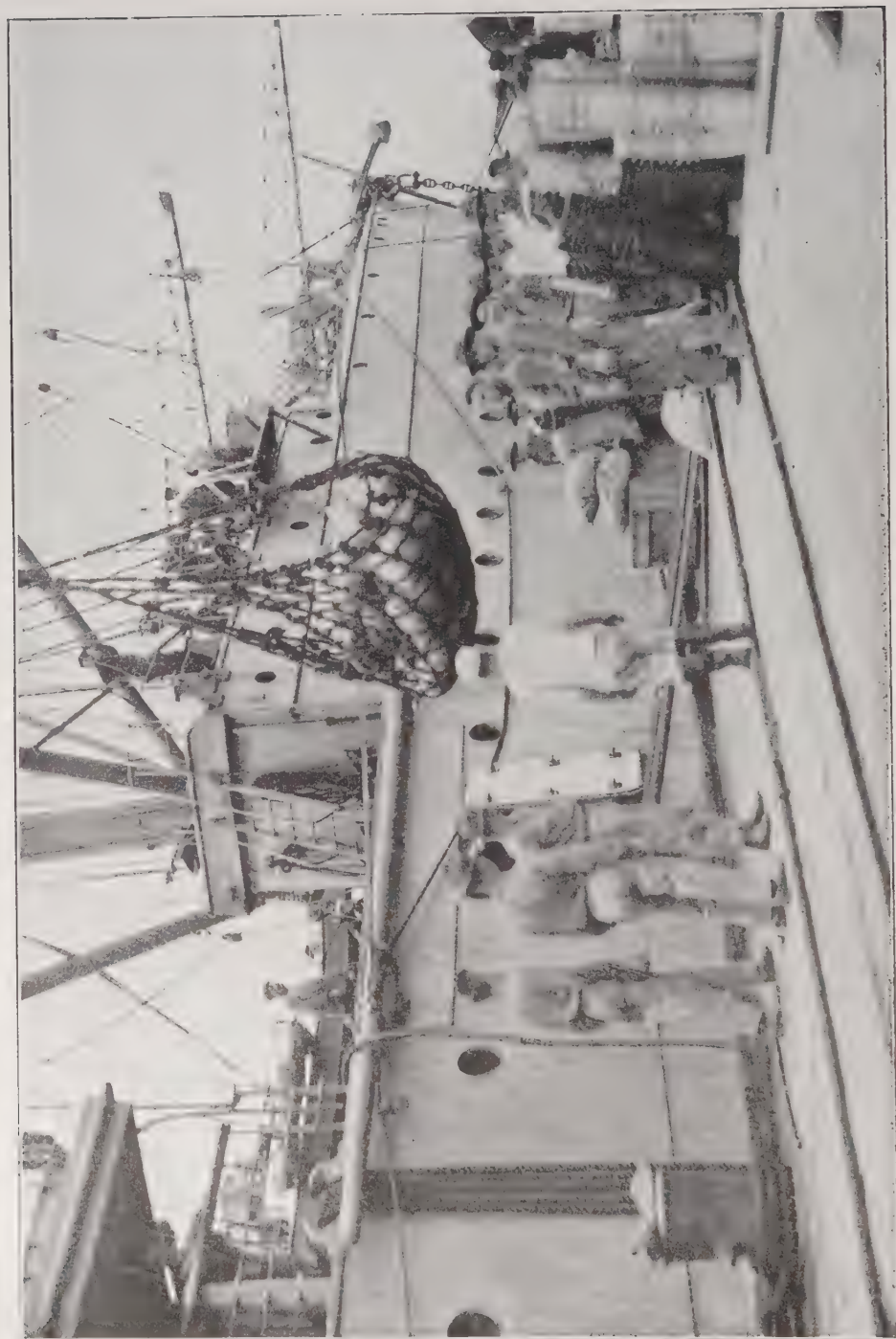
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A WORLD
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The original German plan was to destroy France and then to turn against Russia. Foiled in the first design, the Teutonic generals, in 1915, contented themselves with a defensive campaign in the West and hurled their main forces against the Muscovites. The Russian lines were broken, most of Galicia was reconquered, all of Poland was overrun, and millions of Russian soldiers were killed, wounded, or captured. Meanwhile, Italy entered the war on the side of the Entente, but her armies were unprepared for great efforts, and behind their mountain barriers the Austrians were able, with comparatively small forces, to hold their own. In the West, the French were unable to accomplish much of moment, and it was not until the autumn that the new British army was powerful enough to undertake the offensive. In September, British attacks in the northern sector and French attacks in Champagne resulted in the reconquest of some territory and the capture of many prisoners, but nothing decisive was accomplished, and the French and British losses were enormous. Early in the year, the French and British began an attack designed to open the Dardanelles and capture Constantinople. The plan had great merit, but the Allied commanders committed almost every conceivable blunder, and a great opportunity was lost. This fiasco, joined with the result of the Russian campaign, encouraged Bulgaria to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers. While Allied leaders debated what should be done, Servia was caught, as in a vise, between the Bulgarians and Turks, on the one side, and the Teutonic armies on the other, and was crushed. France and Great Britain sent a great army to Salonica, but it was unable to accomplish anything decisive.

German
Purposes

Fatal
Blunders

Early in 1916, the Germans once more revived their plan of putting France out of the war. With tremendous forces they



LOADING PROVISIONS FOR TROOPS IN FRANCE

attacked at Verdun, and for five months expended their blood with a prodigality never before witnessed, but in vain. In June, the Russians made a great drive into Galicia, capturing Austrian troops by the hundreds of thousands and forcing the Germans to send aid to their hard pressed ally. In July, the French and British began in the region of the Somme an offensive that exceeded in magnitude that of Verdun; a great wedge was driven into the German line, but the coming of the rainy season enabled the Germans to hold on during the winter. Meanwhile, the Russians had overrun a large part of Armenia, the Italians had captured Gorizia and were threatening Trieste, and a British force drew near to Bagdad, but was defeated and had ultimately to surrender at Kut-el-Amara. Late in August, Roumania entered the war on the Allied side, and, at first, won considerable successes, but the Central Powers sent vast forces which, by the end of the year, had overrun three-fourths of the country.

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Meanwhile, the overwhelming fleets of the Allied nations had subjected the Central Powers to a close blockade that was exceedingly disastrous to their economic interests. Unable to strike effective blows with their above-water fleets, the Teutons retorted with their submarines, inflicting enormous losses on the shipping of their enemies, but incurring the hostility of the neutral world.

Effective
Block-
ade

Of the German colonies, amounting to more than a million square miles, only a small part of German East Africa remained unconquered.

When the United States entered the war, therefore, the Central Powers still stood defiant and undefeated, and in Europe they held much more territory than they had lost. Outside of Europe, however, their power was rapidly failing. Much Turkish territory had been conquered, and the German colonies had practically been swept away.

All the belligerents had suffered grievous losses in men and money, but the Entente Powers possessed the larger reservoirs of strength. Great Britain, in particular, was just reaching the height of her power in a military way, and not a foot of her vast Empire had been conquered. The Central Powers, on the other hand, seemed to be nearing exhaustion, many of their industries had been utterly ruined by the blockade, and the people were war weary and anxious for peace.

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It is reasonably certain that if Russia had displayed the same aggressiveness in 1917 as in 1916, one more campaign would have brought the war to a victorious close. But "dark forces" were at work in Russia to distract her councils and paralyze her efforts.



ADMIRAL WILLIAM S SIMS

"Dark
Forces"
in
Russia

In March, the Czar was dethroned by a sudden revolution, and a Provisional Government was set up. By most Americans the revolution was hailed with enthusiasm, but a few viewed it with grave misgivings. The Provisional Government soon proved unable to bring order out of the chaos into which the country had fallen. The

army became demoralized. A young orator and idealist named Kerensky managed, for a time, as virtual dictator, to keep the country loyal to its obligations to the Allies. Early in the summer, he even galvanized the army into undertaking an offensive, that, at first, resulted in considerable successes. But the effort proved merely a flash in the pan. The country and the army were honey-combed with disloyalty, and, instead of obeying their officers' orders, regiments began to argue and then to run. A disastrous collapse followed, and, almost without effort, the Teutons recovered most of Galicia and captured many prisoners and guns.

It was a great misfortune that the United States was not ready to step, full panoplied, into the place left vacant by the faltering Russians, but our failure to prepare in time rendered the thing impossible. In consequence, the delivery of the *coup de grace* was indefinitely postponed. Though the country rang with preparations for active participation on a large scale in the campaign of 1918, comparatively little could be done toward lending armed assistance to our allies in 1917.

As soon as possible, our navy took over the task of patrolling a great part of the Atlantic Ocean, thus releasing British and French vessels for use nearer home. The whereabouts of our powerful Atlantic fleet, with its vast dreadnoughts, was kept shrouded in mystery, but, on May 16, it was announced that a flotilla of our destroyers had reached British waters to co-operate in the work of fighting the submarine. "When will you be ready for business?" asked the British commander who greeted them. "We can start at once," was the American commander's reply.

These boats and the many other American vessels that were sent over were put under the command of Vice-Admiral William S. Sims. This capable officer was the son of an American father and a Canadian mother. He was born at Port Hope, Canada, in 1858, was appointed to the United States Naval Academy from Pennsylvania, and graduated from that institution in 1880. From the outset of his career, he showed himself a keen student of naval problems. While only a lieutenant, he became convinced that the gunnery in the navy was very poor and began to urge better methods. The conservative, old bureaucrats who had such matters in charge refused to listen to his arguments, and it was only by appealing directly to President Roosevelt that he managed to obtain an oppor-

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Collapse
of the
Russian
Army

Admiral
Sims



GERMAN MINE-LAYING U-BOAT CAPTURED BY BRITISH
British Union Jack flying above German Ensign

tunity to demonstrate his theories and ultimately to introduce methods that worked a revolution in the navy's marksmanship. In 1910, at a dinner in the London Guildhall, he said in a speech that blood is thicker than water and that if England ever found herself hard pressed America would come to her aid. The speech gave offense in Germany and drew down upon his head a reprimand from his Government, but a day came when Sims was able to allude to the matter in the same hall, when he was the leader of the force that was helping to make good his prophecy.

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The first man to lose his life in the service of the United States in the European conflict, was John I. Eopolucci, boatswain's mate, one of the naval guard on the steamship *Aztec*. The *Aztec* was a slow ship, laden deep with merchandise, and the submarine gave the American gunners no opportunity to make resistance.

On the 19th of the same month, the armed merchant ship *Mongolia*, was attacked by a submarine. In this case, the gunners saw the periscope and fired at it at a range of a thousand yards. In the opinion of the men on the ship, a shell struck the periscope, whereupon the submarine disappeared, and oil rose to the surface. It was confidently believed that the U-boat had been destroyed, but later it was rumored that the periscope had been smashed and the commander killed, but that the submarine managed to reach port.

On the 28th, the tanker *Vacuum*, while off the coast of Scotland, was torpedoed in the early morning before the lookouts had a glimpse of a periscope. Two minutes after the explosion, the stern settled under water and threw the after gun crew overboard. Lieutenant Clarence C. Thomas, commanding the armed guard, four naval gunners, and eighteen others lost their lives.

Sub-
marine
Outrages

Generally speaking, the odds were heavily in favor of the U-boats, and yet they did not always triumph. In one instance a slow sailing vessel, a schooner named the *Glynn*, was fired upon at a range of 4,500 yards. The guns of the schooner were hidden behind bulwarks, and the crews permitted the U-boat to come within 3,500 yards, when they suddenly lowered the ports and opened fire. After a short exchange of shots, a shell fell close aboard the submarine, if it did not actually strike her. The submarine disappeared, and she was either destroyed or her commander deemed it better to admit defeat.

The outcome in the case of the tanker *Moreni* was less fortunate.



UNITED STATES DESTROYER, JACOB JONES

This boat was torpedoed and sunk December 6, 1917, while on patrol duty in foreign waters

On June 12, a submarine opened fire upon her at a range of 8,000 yards, and the American ship replied. But the U-boat was a small mark, while the tanker was a large one. The submarine fired about two hundred shots, the tanker about a hundred and fifty. Then, the *Moreni* being all ablaze, the crew took to the boats. Three men lost their lives.

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A somewhat similar duel occurred on August 6 between the tanker *Campana* and a submarine. For four hours a long-range duel was kept up, and the tanker was struck several times. Finally, her ammunition was exhausted and the crew abandoned the ship. The submarine took the captain and five of the gunners prisoners, but permitted the rest of the men on board to escape. The Germans also filled a boat with copper, brass fittings, provisions, and bedding. They asked the crew if there was any soap on board, and when told that there was an abundance, the boat made another trip to obtain a supply of it. Owing to scarcity of fats, soap was, at that time, very scarce in Germany.

Duels
with
Sub-
marines

Another tanker, the *Silvershell*, proved luckier. On May 30, the crew discovered a submarine at 7,000 yards. She flew no flag, but carried two guns. The naval crew of the *Silvershell* had a bold and skillful leader in the person of Warrant Officer William J. Clark, formerly of the battleship *Arkansas*. By his direction, the tanker was slowed down to permit the U-boat to come within range. The Yankee gunners then opened fire. The Germans replied. Sixty shots were thus exchanged. "The last shot from the steamer apparently struck the submarine, which raised clear out of the water and stood stern end up for a few seconds. She then disappeared." There can be little doubt that in this case the U-boat was destroyed. Clark and his crew received warm praise for their gallant work, and Clark was promoted.

Numerous other encounters took place between armed merchantmen and U-boats, with varying results. In general, however, the wasps found it dangerous to attack American vessels, and as the gunners learned the tricks of the submarines, as various new defense devices were developed, and as the plan of convoying merchantmen became more and more common, the game became correspondingly more hazardous.

Armed
Vessels
and
U-Boats

The European flotilla was kept busy convoying merchant vessels and transports and hunting submarines. Not much information

PERIOD VIII was given out concerning its activities, but it performed its work
 — A WORLD so well that, up to the end of 1917, no troop transport had been lost
 POWER on the way to Europe. In the early morning of October 17, how-
 — ever, the transport *Antilles*, homeward bound from France, was struck by a torpedo from an unseen submarine and sank in a few minutes. Seventy men, including a number of soldiers, lost their lives. About a week later, the returning transport *Finland* was struck, and nine men were killed, but the vessel was able to return to a French port.

American During five months of service in the war zone, our naval forces
 Destroyer proper went unscathed, but, on October 16, one of the vessels, the
 Damaged *Cassin*, met with a mishap. A submarine was sighted on the surface five miles distant, and the destroyer made for her at full speed. The submarine at once submerged, and the destroyer cruised about in search of her. Suddenly Commander Vernou of the *Cassin*, saw a torpedo headed straight for his vessel. By quick maneuvering he managed to get his vessel out of the missile's seeming pathway, but, by some freakish chance, the torpedo made a sudden turn and struck the *Cassin's* stern, disabling one engine, killing Gunner's Mate Ingram, and wounding five other men. The destroyer kept up the search, and, after about an hour, the submarine exposed its conning tower long enough for the *Cassin's* gunners to fire five shots at it. Later, the destroyer was joined by other vessels and was taken safely into port.

On November 5, the patrol boat *Alcedo*, formerly a steam yacht belonging to a Philadelphia millionaire, was sunk by a submarine, with a loss of one officer and twenty men.

Two weeks later, the small destroyer *Chauncey* was accidentally run down in the night by a vessel she was convoying, and was sunk with a loss of twenty-one men.

Doubtful In most cases of conflicts between our naval vessels and sub-
 Conflicts marines doubt existed as to whether damage had been inflicted upon the enemy, but, toward the end of November, a battle occurred the outcome of which could be definitely determined. Two destroyers engaged in a conflict with a submarine, and one of them dropped a depth bomb which exploded so close to the submerged enemy that she came to the top disabled. Fire was opened upon her as she emerged, whereupon most of her crew clambered on deck, raised their hands, and cried for quarter. Meanwhile, others of the crew

treacherously opened the sea cocks. Boats from the destroyers put off to take the prisoners on board, and a line was made fast to the submarine, but she speedily sank. One of the Germans was drowned; the rest were made prisoners, but one subsequently died.

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GENERAL JOHN J. PERSHING

The enthusiasm aroused by this victory was dampened, early in December, by the news that the destroyer *Jacob Jones*, one of the largest and best in the navy, had been torpedoed and sunk with a loss of about sixty men. Forty-three survivors were taken off

Destroyer
"Jacob
Jones"
Sunk

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on life rafts, and two men were picked up by the submarine, which did not show itself until the destroyer had sunk. Among the survivors was Lieutenant Commander David Worth Bagley, a brother-in-law of Secretary of the Navy Daniels and a brother of Ensign Worth Bagley, the first American officer killed in the Spanish-American War.



IN LONDON

General Pershing

Ambassador Page

Admiral Sims

Lord Derby

Strengthening
the
Navy

Meanwhile, vast exertions were being made at home to increase the strength of our navy. Early in October, Secretary Daniels awarded contracts to five shipbuilding companies for the construction of \$350,000,000 worth of destroyers. This was the biggest contract for this type of vessel ever awarded by any nation, but experience had proven that destroyers were exceedingly valuable in anti-submarine work, besides being valuable in many other ways.

With these awards, the construction program for the navy was brought up to a total of 787 new vessels, including all types from submarine chasers to super-dreadnoughts. It was estimated that the total cost of finishing this program would be about \$1,150,400,000.

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For the sake of the moral effect upon the Allied peoples and the enemy, Marshal Joffre and other members of the French and British missions strongly urged the immediate transportation of American troops to France, and President Wilson and his advisers decided that it should be done. It was announced that a division of troops, a force of marines, and some regiments of engineers would be sent over under the command of Major General John J. Pershing.

This officer was born in Missouri in 1860, and graduated from West Point in 1886. He served in campaigns against the Apaches and Sioux, in the Santiago campaign, and greatly distinguished himself in the Philippines, particularly against the Moros. As military attaché to Japan he saw part of the Japanese-Russian war in Manchuria. As already narrated, he commanded the expedition sent into Mexico in pursuit of Villa. Throughout his career he had shown himself a keen, enterprising, and energetic officer, and he had risen with remarkable rapidity. In fact, as a reward for his services against the Moros, President Roosevelt jumped him over the heads of 862 other officers, and promoted him from captain to brigadier-general. His happiness as a man had been dimmed by a great sorrow, for in 1915 his wife and three small daughters lost their lives in the burning of the Presidio at San Francisco. Only a little son of five was saved.

General
Pershing

General Pershing preceded his army in Europe, and, on the 8th of June, landed from the steamer *Baltic* at Liverpool, with a staff of 53 officers and 146 men. The Americans were greeted with great enthusiasm by the English people and by members of the government, including Premier Lloyd George and King George. After a few days in England, General Pershing passed on to France and landed at Boulogne. Both there and in Paris he received a thrilling welcome. When he rode through the streets of Paris in the same automobile with Marshal Joffre, the streets were thronged by excited, cheering multitudes, and many people wept from joy.

Pershing
and Staff
in
England

"To the masses in the streets as they followed the automobiles from the Gare it seemed the coming of Pershing was veritably the coming of an army. Here was America to help them, America,



THE STARS AND STRIPES IN EUROPE

which had always stood in popular imagination as the symbol of incredible wealth and greatness. In the person of the simply dressed American General they cheered the whole American Army—millions strong, if need be, to carry the war to victory.”

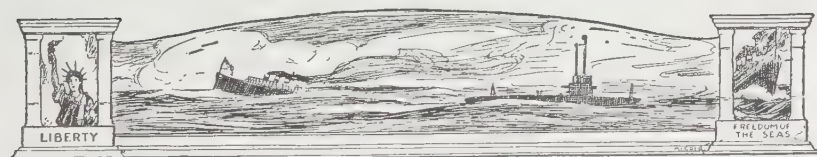
One of the most dramatic incidents of Pershing's reception in Paris was a visit to the tomb of Napoleon in the Hôtel des Invalides. The general and his staff were conducted to the jealously guarded crypt by Marshal Joffre, and there General Pershing was permitted to hold in his hands the Emperor's sword and the cross of the cordon of the Legion of Honor. Kings and princes had been permitted before this to visit the crypt, but never before had any man been permitted to take the historic relics in his hands.

Another dramatic episode occurred on the morning of the 15th, when General Pershing and Marshal Joffre appeared bareheaded on the balcony of the Military Club, in view of an excited crowd in the Place de l'Opera. “*Vive Joffre, who saved us from defeat! Vive Pershing, who brings us victory!*” cried an inspired girl, and the crowd, taking her words as a happy omen, cheered long after the two generals had withdrawn from view.

After three days of visiting and ceremonial, Pershing and his staff settled down to the tremendous task of establishing headquarters and organizing American participation in the war on a grand scale.

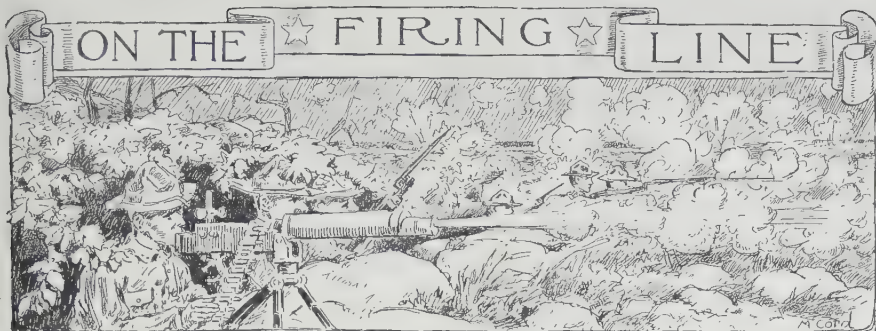
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Pershing
in
France





KING AND QUEEN OF ENGLAND REVIEWING AMERICAN TROOPS PASSING THROUGH LONDON



CHAPTER IV

ON THE FIRING LINE

[*Author's Note:* We have now reached the stage of actual participation in the war. American soldiers have been killed, wounded, and taken prisoners in the trenches in France, and American sailors have been killed or sent to the bottom in fighting on the sea. The country is beginning to realize the sterner aspects and prospects of the war, but it does not flinch. Rather is there a more determined and devoted consecration to the great task. No sacrifice of blood or treasure or service or comfort is too much to secure for humanity the great boon of world-wide freedom and permanent peace.]



LATE in June, the people of the United States were thrilled by the news that the first contingent of troops had landed safely at an unnamed French port. On the way over one of the fleets of transports was twice attacked by submarines, but the convoy work, which was under command of Rear-Admiral Albert S. Gleaves, was well done, and the U-boats were foiled. When the second attack was made, one of the American destroyers darted forward to the spot where the U-boat was moving under water and dropped a depth bomb, which exploded with tremendous violence. "A column of smoke and foam rose a hundred feet in the air, and in the waterspout that followed it the soldiers on the nearest transport distinguished clearly pieces of wood and steel and some dark blue fragments that a moment before had been living men. Any uncertainty was impossible. Transport after transport passed through floating oil, patched with wreckage. This submarine, at least, had timed its hour too well."

When the transports steamed into the harbor of the French port, their arrival was greeted with wild shrieks of steam whistles on

PERIOD VIII craft in the harbor, while the great crowds on the docks displayed
A WORLD indescribable enthusiasm. French and American flags were every-
POWER where, and the town went mad with its welcome to the "Sammies",
 — or "Teddies", as the men were variously called.

General The contingent was under the immediate command of Major-
Sibert General William L. Sibert. This officer was born at Gadsden, Alabama, October 12, 1860. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1884, and from the Engineering School of Application in 1887. He did a great deal of engineering work in various capacities, particularly along the Mississippi River and its tributaries and about the Great Lakes. During 1899-1900, he was chief engineer and general manager of the Manila & Dagupan Railroad in the Philippines. His attainments were of such a high character that, in 1907, President Roosevelt appointed him a member of the Isthmian Canal Commission, on which he served until the canal was completed. His greatest achievements in this connection were the building of the great Gatun locks and dam, the west breakwater in Colon harbor, and the excavation of the channel from Gatun to the Atlantic. In 1914, under the joint auspices of the American National Red Cross and the Chinese Government, he served as chairman of the board of engineers on the flood prevention problem in the Huai River Valley in China. General Sibert had displayed great ability in these capacities, and it was confidently hoped that he would be able to serve his country well in helping to direct the American forces in France in his country's hour of need.

Fourth of The 4th of July was enthusiastically celebrated throughout France.
July in Everywhere the Stars and Stripes were flying, while probably the
France greatest crowd in the history of Paris assembled to watch a battalion of American troops march through the streets. Vast numbers were unable to get in sight of the troops, but when music of the Republican Guard Band announced the approach of the men from the New World, everyone joined in a mighty shout that lasted until after the last man had passed by. As for the Americans lucky enough to participate in that historic parade, not one will forget the dying day, the indescribable enthusiasm, the tremendous cheering, the rain of flowers with which the French people greeted their new allies.

As soon as possible, the Americans were transferred from the coast to bases in the interior. There, with the aid of French instruc-

tors, they were given further training in the new methods of warfare. From time to time, new contingents arrived. When winter arrived, though the exact facts were kept out of the newspapers, it was generally known in the United States that Pershing had more men than had ever before been gathered into an American army.

On the 15th of August, the British capital had an opportunity to display its feelings when a large contingent marched through the streets, escorted by the bands of famous British regiments. The troops were reviewed by Ambassador Page, Admiral Sims, King George, Premier Lloyd George, the Queen, and many other notables, while an enormous crowd watched the men file by. The city had witnessed many processions, but probably never before in its history was staid old London so stirred by a column of marching men. In all that vast crowd there was hardly a person who had not personally felt the awful strain of the Great War, who had not lost some one near and dear. All the greater, therefore, was the enthusiasm that greeted this tangible evidence of help from brethren across the sea. "God bless you, Sammy!" cried a pious English woman on the sidewalk, and she voiced the sentiments of the whole vast crowd.

The training consisted in digging model trenches, practice with the bayonet and rifle and hand grenades and in the use of gas masks, co-ordination of infantry charges with artillery firing, and various other exercises. Meanwhile, American engineers were engaged in working out the stupendous task of establishing adequate lines of transport between the seaports and the camp. Some idea of the magnitude of the mere construction side of the preparations may be obtained from the fact that thirty thousand tons of lumber were imported from America monthly.

That the soldiers knew what they were in France for is clearly shown by a verse from one of their favorite songs:

"We're off to can the Kaiser,
Hooray! Hooray!
In Kaiserland we'll take our stand
Until we can the Kaiser.
Let's go, let's go, let's go and can the Kaiser!
Let's go, let's go, let's go and can the Kaiser!

"The American troops in their billets, their camps, their training grounds, their rifle and gun practice grounds near the front, are already absolutely at home," wrote Laurence Jerrold, an English

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A WORLD
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U. S.
Troops
in
London

Camps
in
France



BUILDING AMERICAN CANTONMENT IN FRANCE

Materials are shipped "knocked down" from the United States, and are quickly assembled and put together on arrival in France

correspondent, late in September. "The French villagers have adopted now a broken Franco-American language—sister tongue, though different, to the now classic Anglo-French spoken for three years from Calais downward. The American troops have made themselves at home, have settled all their arrangements with businesslike finality, and are out to do their job thoroughly. Their bases near the front seemed to me already definitely organized. They are settled in villages, where they disturb the villagers by aggressive sanitation. They have abolished all dunghills, to the old farmers' amazement and alarm. They have purified the water, cleaned up the streets, cottages, and farmyards. The villagers, at first terrified by these wild measures, are now reconciled, and every little village grocery sells American matches, American tobacco, American groceries, sterilized milk, 'canned goods', American mustard, and everything American except American whisky. For at the messes, where I was received with open arms as an ally of to-day and forever—no American officer makes any doubt about that—cold American purified water and French coffee with American sterilized milk are the only drinks. Villages of France have become American, and American café au lait, colored cars, and motor bikes with sidecars tear all over the country, driven by university boys turned chauffeurs.

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"Our new allies are learning from us both—from us old allies, English and French. I first saw a French division in horizon blue teach the new American army, in khaki and wearing British trench helmets, what a modern battle is like. It was a moving sight. It was poignant, really, when one heard that the French division had just come back from Verdun and was enacting over again in play what it had just done in terrible and glorious earnest. The American staff stood on a knoll watching, with the French staff explaining. On the edge of the hill to the left of the staff the new American army watched. Further to the left the French troops came on. Every 'poilu' among them had just come from the real thing. He grinned as he played at war this time, and one felt how he must enjoy playing at it now. But he played very well and earnestly. The whole thing was done as one has before watched it being done under less reassuring circumstances for one's self.

Intensive
Training

"The lines advanced in open formation, then stopped for the barrage fire to be pushed forward. Flares were sent up to signal the

PERIOD VIII
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A WORLD
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artillery. There was another step forward under barrage fire, another (sham) barrage fire, more flares and rockets, the horizon-blue line crept cautiously round to take the first trenches, the machine-gun parties came up. Once more barrage fire and more signals, then the 'boche' trenches below us were taken. It was all exactly as it would have been in real war."

It was proudly believed at home that when the time for real action arrived, the American troops would give a good account of themselves, but a painful impression was created when the discovery was made that part of the rifle cartridges sent to France were defective. The fact that it was necessary to obtain artillery from the French was also extremely unfortunate, for the Italian army, late in the year, lost upwards of two thousand guns, and to re-equip the Italians placed an added strain upon French and British factories.

Inade-
quate
Equip-
ment

In December, a congressional committee drew from General Crozier, the chief of ordnance, many discouraging admissions regarding these matters. He testified, among other things, that no decision had been reached until June regarding the type of machine-gun to be used, and said that none of them had yet been manufactured. He laid the blame for this state of affairs upon the shoulders of Secretary of War Baker. He expressed the belief, however, that supplies of artillery and machine-guns could be supplied to the troops sent to France, but largely from French sources.

About the same time, Congressman Medill McCormick, who had just returned from the battle fronts, issued a statement in which he said:

"The British, who in proportion to their front have more guns by far than either of their Western allies, according to their chief military authorities, will not have guns enough until next spring. The guns which the French give us, they give us because the immediate necessities of our little army in France are even greater than their own.

"General Petain said to me: 'Make guns. Send us guns and ammunition, rather than steel billets. We are grateful for the little force you have sent us. The echo of its footfalls carried hope to every heart in France, but as it grows there must be a period when we shall be taxed to supply it. While its numbers slowly increase, you Americans, who are a great industrial people, must

see that this war is an industry of destruction. You will understand how urgent it is to send us guns, middle heavies, and shells, in order that we may be armed to win victories and to defend ourselves so that some of us may be alive to fight by your side when at last America is ready.' "

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In McCormick's opinion the United States must "build for ourselves and the allies 25,000 cannon. That is the estimate of the best military authorities in Europe. But apparently we shall have produced practically no guns within a year after our declaration of war."

For generations Americans had been so much flattered by pseudo-historians and ignorant newspaper writers, and misled by cheap demagogues who pictured a million men springing to arms over night to defend their land against invasion, that most had come to hold an absurdly erroneous idea of our invincibility and warlike abilities. It came as a great shock to such people to discover that, in reality, we were almost totally unprepared for war, that even our regular army required many months of special training to fit officers and men to meet European troops on equal terms.

Need
for
Arma-
ment

At the outbreak of the Great War, Great Britain was the least prepared in a military way of any of the large Allied nations, and there were many sneers in America about Great Britain's "slowness" and her alleged willingness to let her allies do most of the fighting. Her navy, however, was the most powerful in the world, and no sooner were hostilities begun than she swept the seas of German ships. Only once, namely in the battle of Jutland or Horn Reef, did the German above-seas navy venture seriously to dispute her control, and from that battle what remained of the German fleet emerged so badly battered that it deemed itself happy to escape complete destruction. Germany's chief naval effort was made with submarines, a new and diabolical engine of warfare against which no thoroughly effective defense had been contrived except to keep ships in harbor, as the Germans were doing. On land, within six weeks after the war began, Great Britain's small but splendidly effective little army had fought against overwhelming odds the battle of Mons, had made one of the most remarkable retreats in history, had reacted and had helped to win the great battle of the Marne, and was helping to fight the battle of the Aisne. Six months after we entered the conflict, eight months after our relations with

German
Sub-
marines



AMERICAN PROSPECTIVE BIRDMAN LEARNING MACHINE GUN

The instructor is British Sergeant Watson, wounded at Verdun, and the student officer is John A. Talcott, of Cleveland, Ohio

Germany were broken off, and two years and a half after we had ample warning that our peace was endangered, we did not yet have a single company of troops actually on the firing line. Humiliating as these facts are to American pride, it is proper that they should be pointed out both for the sake of the future and in justice to a nation whose fleet saved the world from German domination, and our own land from invasion and conquest.

In the autumn, the title of General was revived, and commissions raising them to this rank were given to Pershing and to Major-General Tasker H. Bliss, who had recently succeeded Major-General Hugh L. Scott as chief-of-staff. The rank was one that had hitherto been held only by Washington, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan, and the presumption had been that it was bestowed only for supreme services in the field. A somewhat different reason impelled the President in the present instances, it being thought necessary that the heads of our army should bear titles that would place them upon an equal footing with the generalissimos of our allies' forces.

Late in October, the United States was thrilled with the news that "somewhere in France" American troops had, at last, entered the front-line trenches and were taking final training under French tutelage. The first shot of the war on land was fired by an unnamed "red-haired gunner" from South Bend, Indiana. Desultory and intermittent cannonading ensued, with some infantry sniping. At night, scouting parties entered No Man's Land, and one of these parties wounded and captured a German, who subsequently died.

Before daylight of November 3, the Germans put down a heavy barrage on a salient occupied by a company of the second contingent that had entered the trenches for training. The bursting shells prevented reënforcements from coming, and under cover of the barrage a couple of hundred Germans attacked the salient. Many of the Americans resisted valiantly, and pistols, grenades, knives, and bayonets were used freely. Three Americans were killed, eleven were wounded, and the same number were taken prisoners. The loss of the raiders was unknown, but they left behind them a wounded soldier, three rifles, and a number of knives and helmets.

Hitherto the exact location of the American troops had not been published in the United States, but the German official statement located the Americans at the Rhine-Marne Canal, near Nancy, and not far from the border of German Lorraine.

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On the
Firing
Line

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The German newspapers described the skirmish with much satisfaction, and one of them, the Berlin *Lokal Anzeiger*, under the caption "Good Morning, Boys" gave the prisoners a sardonic welcome in the following terms:

German
Irony

"Three cheers for the Americans! Clever chaps they are, it can not be denied. Scarcely have they touched the soil of this putrefied Europe when they are already forcing their way into Germany. Before long they will cross the Rhine and also enter our fortresses. That is express train speed and American smartness.

"It is our good fortune that we are equipped to receive and entertain numerous guests and that we shall be able to provide quarters for these gentlemen. However, we can not promise them doughnuts and jam, and to this extent they will be obliged to recede from their former standard of living. They probably will become reconciled to this, for soldiering is ever a risky business. Above all, they will find comfort in the thought that they are rendering their almighty President, Mr. Wilson, valuable services, inasmuch as he is anxious to obtain reliable information concerning conditions and sentiments in belligerent countries. In this way he will obtain first-hand information about things in Germany.

"As Americans are accustomed to travel in luxury and comfort, we assume that these advance arrivals merely represent couriers for larger numbers to follow. We are sure the latter also will come and be gathered in by us. At home they believe they possess the biggest and most colossal everything, but such establishments as we have here they have not seen.

"Look here, my boy, here is the big firm of Hindenburg & Co., with which you must compete. Look at its accomplishments and consider whether it would not be better to haul down your sign and engage in some other line. Perhaps your boss, Wilson, will reconsider his newest line of business before we grab off more of his young people."

Tribute
to
Martyrs

The three Americans killed were Corporal James B. Gresham, of Evansville, Indiana; Thomas F. Enright, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Merle D. Hay, of Glidden, Iowa. They were buried with military honors, and the French general who commanded the division in that section paid a high tribute to the young martyrs who, of their own free will, had come to France to fight "for honor, love of justice, and civilization."

“We shall ask”, he said, “that the mortal remains of these young men be left here, left with us forever. We inscribe on the tombs, ‘Here lie the first soldiers of the Republic of the United States to fall on the soil of France for liberty and justice.’ The passerby will stop and uncover his head. Travelers and men of heart will go out of their way to come here to pay their respective tributes.

“Private Enright, Private Gresham, Private Hay! In the name of France I thank you. God receive your souls. Farewell!”

Beyond question, the most immediately helpful work performed by our military forces was done by army engineers. Several regiments of engineers were quickly sent to France, and were soon at work building roads, railroads, and bridges. As warfare had come to be largely a problem in transportation, they were able to render services of an eminently practical nature.

Repeatedly these men were under fire from German artillery and German airplanes, and, in the great German counter-attacks against General Byng’s army before Cambrai, many were caught in the thick of the fighting. Some only escaped death or capture by lying concealed for hours in shell holes until the British succeeded in pushing the invaders back. The German attack was made with greatly superior numbers, and, as every available man was needed to help stem their onrush, many of the American engineers seized rifles and fought side by side with the Tommies throughout the bitter day. The Americans gave every ounce of their strength to the great work, both as fighting men and in helping with transportation, and by their effectiveness drew high praise from the British and French authorities. The French official communication said: “We must remark upon the conduct of certain American soldiers, pioneers and workmen on the military railroad in the sector of the German attack west of Cambrai, on November 30. They exchanged their picks and shovels for rifles and cartridges and fought with the English. Many died thus bravely, arms in hand, before the invader. All helped to repulse the enemy. There is not a single person who saw them at work, who does not render warm praise to the coolness, discipline, and courage of these improvised combatants.”

From the beginning, the Germans had affected to believe that American preparations were all part of a gigantic game of “bluff”, and that no American forces of consequence would ever take part

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Ameri-
can
Engineers



CATERPILLAR TANK DRIVING THROUGH FOREST

Forest trees prove slight obstacles to these grim monsters

in the war. Even as late as December, 1917, Field Marshal von Hindenburg referred ironically to "the advertising methods" of the United States, and set forth reasons why we would not be a serious military factor.

"It is certain," said he, "that the United States is making efforts to create a big army, and the war is an opportune pretext, as in peace times the difficulties would be too great to do it. Japan, too, would not have looked on with indifference. The Americans will hardly send their newly created army to Europe at once, as by doing so their country would be rendered helpless in case Japan should show a sudden inclination to square up old accounts with America.

"Moreover, the transport question would offer difficulties not less than supplies. German U-boats would be a further obstacle. It certainly may be easy to build thousands of airplanes, as America has announced, but it is difficult to equip them. But wherever they may appear the Germans will not be wanting."

"Whatever may happen," wrote a German Ph.D. in the *Tagliche Rundschau*, "one thing is certain—the millions of soldiers and the hundred thousand airplanes which the Americans threaten to let loose upon the wicked Germans will resolve themselves into the clouds of dreamland. It is only a piece of that boasting at which the Americans are unsurpassable masters. It is really marvelous to see what they are able to do in the way of opening wide their jaws, as though they were sluice-gates, without dislocating them. They owe this faculty to their splendid practice in that chattering which so faithfully portrays the degree of their *Kultur*, for theirs is a mentality which combines, in a way truly remarkable, richness of vocabulary with poverty of thought. Viewed from a practical standpoint, however—that is, free from all psychological niceties—it would seem that things will come about in this wise. For the moment, by dint of much brain cudgeling and worry, a little tonnage could still be found for the transport of war-lusting Yankees, but no army of any importance is there to be transported, while later, should any military force worthy of the name really be in readiness, there will be no more ships to convey them to face the enemy."

Doubtless German statements regarding these matters were largely designed to encourage the people of the Central Powers and for their influence on neutral states and Russia. It is improbable

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—German
Com-
mentsGerman
Intrigue

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that personally Von Hindenburg took his remarks about Japan seriously, but beyond question he reflected an undeniable German feeling of contempt for our military efforts. For the time being this contemptuous attitude was justified; whether it would continue to be justified depended upon the extent of American resolution and the effectiveness of the submarines. In August, 1914, the Kaiser had spoken of Britain's "contemptible little army", but he had lived to revise his judgment. Time would show whether or not there would be a similar change of attitude toward America's military forces.

It appeared certain that, if the war continued, the United States would be able, in the late winter of 1917, or early spring of 1918, to get a considerable force actually to the firing line, and to take a really active part in the fighting. But the size of this force would be limited by the lack of trained officers and men, of artillery and shells, above all, by the lack of ships. The problem of transporting armies and supplies to France was a stupendous one, and the submarines had made such inroads upon the world's shipping that there was some reason for the German belief that enough vessels could not be spared to transport and supply great forces. Much depended upon the future effectiveness of American shipyards and the extent to which the submarines could be held in check.

Even if ships could be found, it was certain that the United States would be condemned to a relatively minor rôle during the early part of the campaign of 1918, but that increasingly large forces could be put into the fighting as the year passed. It would not be until 1919, however, that the real strength of the country could be flung against the enemy.

Gains
of
Allies

As the year 1917 drew toward its close, the unfortunate results of our unpreparedness became more than ever manifest. Despite Russia's wavering, many of the military operations of the year had proved distinctly favorable to the Allies. British armies captured Bagdad, much of Mesopotamia, and Jerusalem, and completed the subjection of the German colonies. Both the British and the French subjected the German lines on the West front to a terrific battering, forced Von Hindenburg to make a "strategic retreat" involving the surrender of twelve hundred square miles of territory, and won numerous victories around Verdun, Laon, Arras, and Ypres. Meanwhile, the Italians drew nearer to Trieste and threatened to break through the mountains and endanger even Vienna.

The Central Powers were saved by the chaos in Russia. In the autumn, the Germans captured Riga and the islands at the mouth of the Gulf of Riga, and it was thought that they might assail even Petrograd. The Russian army was too badly demoralized to offer any effective resistance to these strokes, and it was becoming clear that Kerensky, though eloquent and well meaning, was unequal to his task. In September, General Korniloff, the commander-in-chief of the army, endeavored to seize the reins of power and establish a stronger government. The attempt failed, but Kerensky's power was rapidly waning.

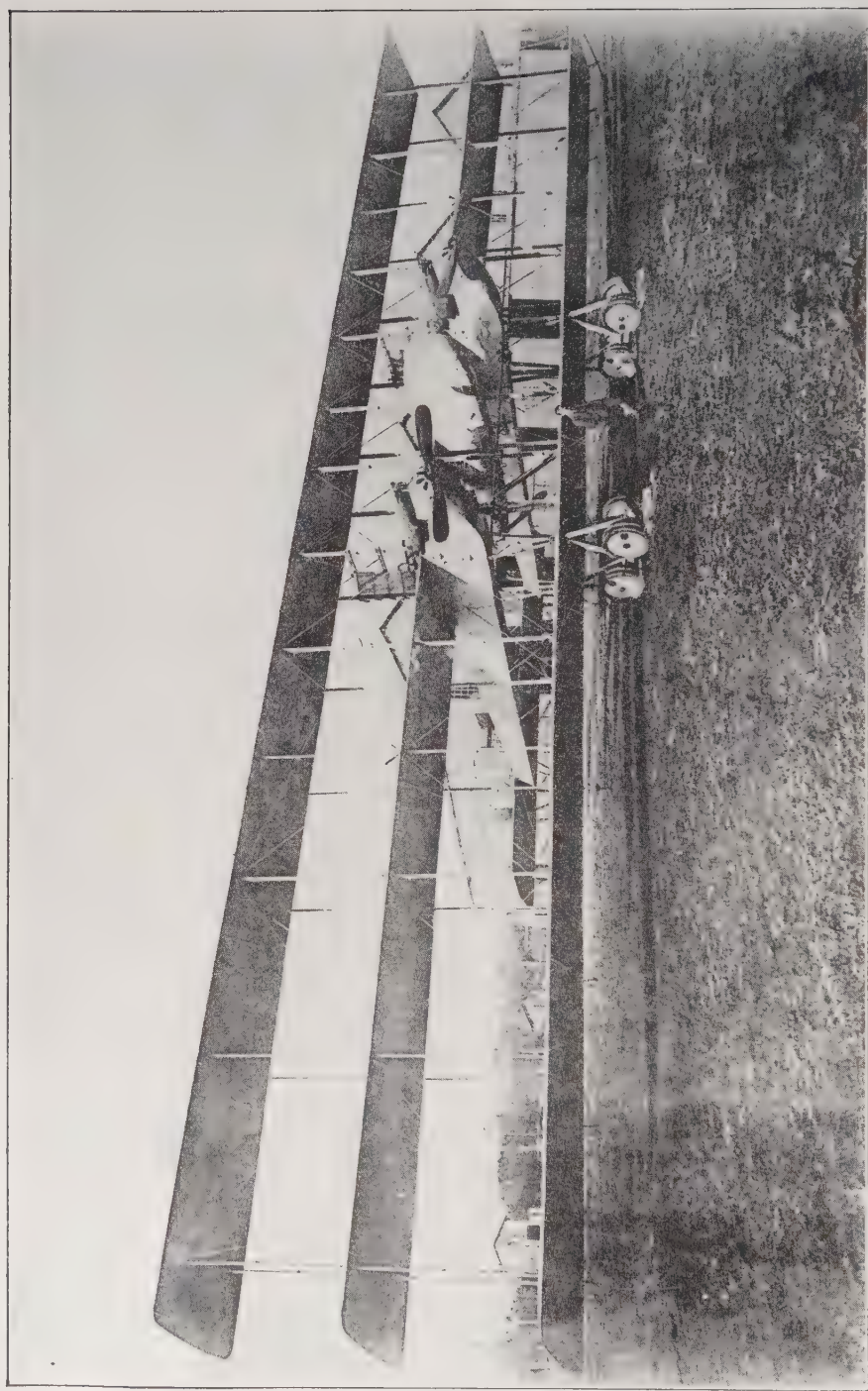
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In great revolutions it usually happens that, at some time, the most radical elements manage to gain control. It was true of France in the days of the Terror, and it proved to be true in the case of Russia. The Russian proletariat, ignorant and intoxicated with liberty, misled also by secret German agents, displayed a willingness to listen to leaders who made the wildest promises. Late in October, the extreme Socialists, the Bolsheviki, rose in Petrograd, and, after bloody fighting, succeeded in mastering the capital, Moscow, and other places. Kerensky disappeared, and the army became thoroughly demoralized. Lenine and Trotzky, the Bolsheviki leaders, speedily opened negotiations with Germany for peace. Early in December, an armistice was agreed upon, and all fighting ceased along the Russian and Roumanian fronts.

Russian
Radicals

Even before the Bolsheviki uprising, the Teutonic leaders had deemed it safe to draw heavily from their armies along the Eastern front in order to provide men and guns for a great push against Italy. On the 24th of October, the blow fell upon the Italian armies in the region of the upper Isonzo. In a few days, more than two hundred thousand prisoners and about two thousand cannons were taken, and the remnants of the Italian armies on the whole of Italy's eastern front were in full retreat. Venice and all the cities of the rich Lombard plain were in danger. French and British troops were hurried through the Alps, and the invaders were checked at the line of the Piave River, but all that Italy had gained in two years of fighting had been lost and, in addition, more than two thousand square miles of Italian soil.

A brilliant victory won by General Byng in front of Cambrai helped to lighten but could not dispel the gloom that settled down upon Allied countries as a result of the Russian collapse and the



CAPRONI TRIPLANE

A late and elaborate type of aeroplane

Italian disaster. Furthermore, the Germans massed immense forces near Cambrai and compelled the British to relinquish a large part of what General Byng had gained.

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It was clear to everyone that the Central Powers would be able to derive enormous advantages from a separate peace with Russia. Such a peace would enable them to draw great quantities of food and other supplies from the territory of their former foe. It would no longer be necessary for them to maintain armies on the Russian fronts, and the forces thus released could be thrown against the British in Mesopotamia and Palestine and against the Entente forces at Salonica and on the Italian, French, and Belgian fronts. Furthermore, in Russian prisons there were held captive fully a million Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and German soldiers who would be released and would speedily be sent to the firing line.

As the year 1917 drew near its end, the outlook for the Central Powers was, in many respects, the brightest for more than three years. Once before, in the Seven Years War, a Hohenzollern ruler, Frederick the Great, had been saved from utter ruin by the death of the Empress Elizabeth, who was his enemy, and the accession of Peter III, who was his friend, with the result that Russia was transformed from a foe into an ally. It seemed as if history might be about to repeat itself, and that once more the house of Hohenzollern might be saved by the vagaries of the fickle Muscovites.

Little wonder, therefore, that Allied statesmen viewed the course of events in Russia with grave misgivings. It appeared more than ever certain that the United States must make vast efforts or the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs would triumph over a world of potentially powerful but unready enemies.

Although the activities of our army and navy during 1917 were interesting to Americans, it must be admitted that they had little appreciable effect upon the course of the war. The navy's part had been the more notable, and our vessels had displayed much activity in convoying ships and watching for submarines, and had managed to account for a few of the pests.

Ameri-
cans
Aiding

Our actual fighting on land had been confined to a little artillery work and a few petty skirmishes. Time had shown that the German belief that the United States, from a military point of view, would long be a negligible quantity, was founded on a solid basis of fact. We had been able to furnish our allies with supplies and a great



THE "DEUTSCHLAND"
Famous Freight-carrying German Submarine

deal of money and with some assistance on the sea; our preparations had served to hearten them, but we had killed few Germans. Amid all the distractions of raising various humanitarian funds, producing and conserving food, and multifarious other activities of a peaceful nature, the people sometimes almost seemed in danger of forgetting that wars are won by hard blows, and that all our vast preparations would be useless toward winning the war unless they could, in some way or other, be made to bring distress to the enemy.

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The mighty conflict had, however, reached such a stage that almost anything might happen at any time. There were some observers who predicted that the war would end speedily; and others who held that it would last for years. Either school of prophets might prove to be right. The psychological state of the warring peoples was coming to be more than ever important. Battles and economic conditions had come to be chiefly important because of their reactions upon national states of mind. Barring a peace by compromise, that group of combatants seemed most likely to win who had the stronger "will to conquer". Inasmuch as the United States was just entering the conflict with matchless potential resources of men and money and as yet had not suffered, it seemed probable that her people would be able longest to stand the strain. If Americans would make up their minds to fight until the war was won, the end might be prolonged, but the final outcome could not be doubtful. The Germans and their allies, on the other hand, though still powerful, had long been subjected to a terrific strain, and their peoples were war-weary and nearing economic exhaustion.

On December 10, like a ray of sunlight through dark clouds, came the glorious intelligence that the British army under General Allenby had captured Jerusalem. For the first time in more than six centuries, the flag of a Christian people replaced the Crescent of Mohammedanism over the Holy City and the Tomb of the Savior. The military importance of the event was completely overshadowed by its moral significance. People in the Allied countries took the victory as a sign that the armies of righteousness would prevail over the powers of darkness and barbarity.

Jerusa-
lem
Captured

The tidings proved especially joyful to the Hebrews scattered in many lands. For long generations the Chosen People had cherished the hope that some day they might return to Palestine and restore

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there the glories of Zion. Even before the capture of Jerusalem, the British Government had officially announced that it would look with favor on such a development. Into many Hebrew hearts throughout the broad world there leaped the thought:

"The Lord doth build up Jerusalem; He gathereth together the outcasts of Israel."

No sooner had the Sixty-fifth Congress met for the regular session, December 3, 1917, than investigations were set under way into practically every department of the war program. The activities relating to the production and conservation of foods, feeds, and fuel, to the building and outfitting of the cantonments and training camps, to the gigantic shipbuilding contracts, to the great question of railroad and water transportation, and to many other such matters, were brought under comprehensive review and the closest scrutiny. As a result of these investigations there was a general weeding out of useless or incompetent personnel, a reorganization on the sole basis of efficiency, and elimination of red tape, and a very necessary speeding up in all directions.

Railway
Control

On December 26, President Wilson announced the most revolutionary step yet taken to key the national energies to the utmost pitch of efficiency in the win-the-war program. He issued a proclamation taking over by the Government the operation of the railroad systems of the country for the period of the war. This meant the linking of the greatest network of railways in the whole world into one operating unit.

In the same proclamation, he named William G. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury, as Director General of the railways, he also to retain his position as Secretary of the Treasury. The Government would assume control of the railways at noon Friday, December 28.

The Director General set to work at once to eliminate wasteful competition, to unify operation, to expedite transportation, to cut off exorbitant salaries and dividends, to equalize charges, and to adjust wages on an equitable, just, and satisfactory basis.

Steps were taken also for the improvement and equipment of the water ways of the country for the revival and extension of water transportation, in order to relieve freight congestion on the railroads and to lower freight charges.

In the last week in December, 1917, in a "peace conference" with Russian Bolsheviki representatives at Brest-Litovsk, Count Czernin,

Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, speaking for the Central Powers, declared their readiness immediately to sign terms for a general peace "without forcible annexations and indemnities". However, "they could not bind themselves to such terms without guarantee that Russia's allies would recognize them and carry them out honestly toward the Central Powers". There was a general feeling that these proposals were not just and equitable, that they were not made in good faith, that they were intended for home consumption in Germany on the one hand, and to divide the Allies on the other.

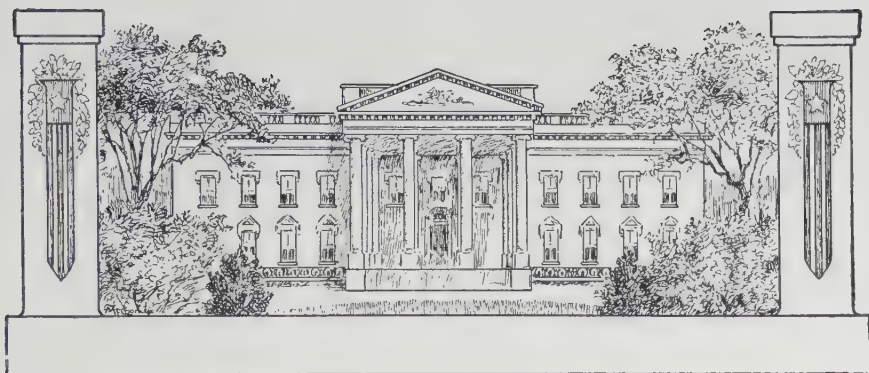
The American people, though greatly desiring the speedy establishment of peace on an equitable and permanent basis, shared in the doubts of the sincerity of the German proposals, and reluctantly, but with renewed energy, pressed forward in their determination to make every effort and sacrifice that was necessary to win the war.

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THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D. C., 1890



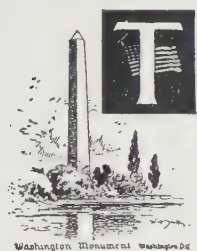
CHAPTER V

WHITE HOUSE PERSONALITIES

[*Author's Note:* The personalities and individual characteristics of our Presidents must always possess a peculiar interest to Americans. In this chapter is given a variety of facts concerning the individuals who have been chosen by the people to fill the high position of President.

In scarcely a less degree does the interest of the student attach to the "Ladies of the White House". Accordingly, the reader will find included in this chapter many striking and pleasing facts regarding not only the Presidents, but their wives also, women who with so much grace have handled the social destinies of the White House.

The material for this chapter has been culled from the authorized biographies of the Presidents, and of their wives, and also from various official records and documents.]



Washington Monument Washington D.C.

THE first presidential election in the United States was held in 1789, under the new Constitution which had just been adopted. Up to and including 1916 there had been 33 presidential elections for four-year terms, and 27 different men had filled the office of President. Of these 27 men, nine—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Lincoln, Grant, Cleveland, and Wilson—were elected

for two terms each. John Adams, Madison, John Quincy Adams, Van Buren, William Henry Harrison, Polk, Taylor, Pierce, Buchanan, Hayes, Garfield, Benjamin Harrison, Roosevelt, and Taft, were elected for one term each. Tyler filled the vacancy caused by the death of William Henry Harrison; Fillmore the vacancy caused by the death of Taylor; and Johnson, Arthur, and Roosevelt filled the vacancies caused by the assassination of Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley, respectively.

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A WORLD
POWERThe
Presi-
dents

Of the 27 men, who up to 1917, had occupied the presidential chair, 15 were of English descent on the paternal side, 6 Scotch-Irish, 3 Scotch, 2 Dutch, 1 Welsh. In early life, 14 of these men were lawyers, 5 teachers, 3 soldiers, 2 tailors, 1 a surveyor, 1 a farm hand, and 1 a publicist. At the time of their election, 19 were classed as lawyers, 3 as statesmen, 2 soldiers, and 1 each—planter, farmer, and public official.

Of the Presidents, 18 were graduated from a college or university, while the remaining 9 had not enjoyed the advantage of college training.

In politics, there were 11 Democrats, 10 Republicans, 3 Federalists, 3 Whigs.

In religion, there were 8 Episcopalians, 8 Presbyterians, 4 Unitarians, 3 Methodists, 2 Reformed Dutch, 1 Disciple, and 1 Liberal.

As to their nativity, 8 were born in Virginia, 6 in Ohio, 3 in North Carolina, 3 in New York, 2 in Massachusetts, and 1 each in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Vermont, and New Jersey.

At the dates of their inauguration, one President, William Henry Harrison, was 68 years of age, two were 61, one 58, three 57, two 56, two 55, three 54, one 52, two 51, two 50, two 49, one 48, one 47, one 46, and one, Roosevelt, the youngest, 42 years of age.

Washington's first inauguration was in New York and his second in Philadelphia. Adams was inaugurated in Philadelphia, and during his term the seat of government was established in Washington. Jefferson, and all the Presidents succeeding him, were inaugurated in Washington.

Arthur, as the successor of Garfield, took the oath of office in New York City, and Roosevelt, as successor of McKinley, was sworn in at Buffalo.

Lincoln, Garfield, and McKinley were assassinated while serving as President. An attempt was made on the life of Jackson in the Capitol at Washington, but the pistol of the assassin missed fire. Ex-President Roosevelt was shot and wounded by an insane man at Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

The sixth President was the son of the second President, and the twenty-third President was the grandson of the ninth President. William Henry Harrison was the eighth President, and Benjamin Harrison the tenth, in descent from Pocahontas and John Rolfe.

Washington, Monroe, and Jackson were soldiers in the Revolutionary War; Jackson, William H. Harrison, Tyler, Taylor, and Buchanan were in the War of 1812-15; Lincoln in the Black Hawk War; Taylor, Pierce and Grant in the Mexican War; Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Benjamin Harrison and McKinley, in the Civil War; Roosevelt in the war with Spain.

Adams and Jefferson were signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Washington and Madison of the Constitution.

Grant was christened Hiram Ulysses, but adopted the name of Ulysses Simpson Grant. Cleveland was christened Stephen Grover, but dropped the Stephen; Wilson was christened Thomas Woodrow, but dropped the Thomas.

Buchanan and Cleveland were bachelors when they entered the White House, but Cleveland was married in the White House during his first term. His second daughter was the only President's child born in the White House.

Monroe's daughter (Mrs. Gouverneur), Tyler's daughter (Mrs. Waller), Grant's daughter (Mrs. Sartoris), Roosevelt's daughter (Mrs. Longworth), and Wilson's daughters, Jessie (Mrs. Sayre) and Eleanor (Mrs. McAdoo) were the only children of Presidents married in the White House. Wives of Tyler, Benjamin Harrison, and Wilson, died while their husbands were serving as President.

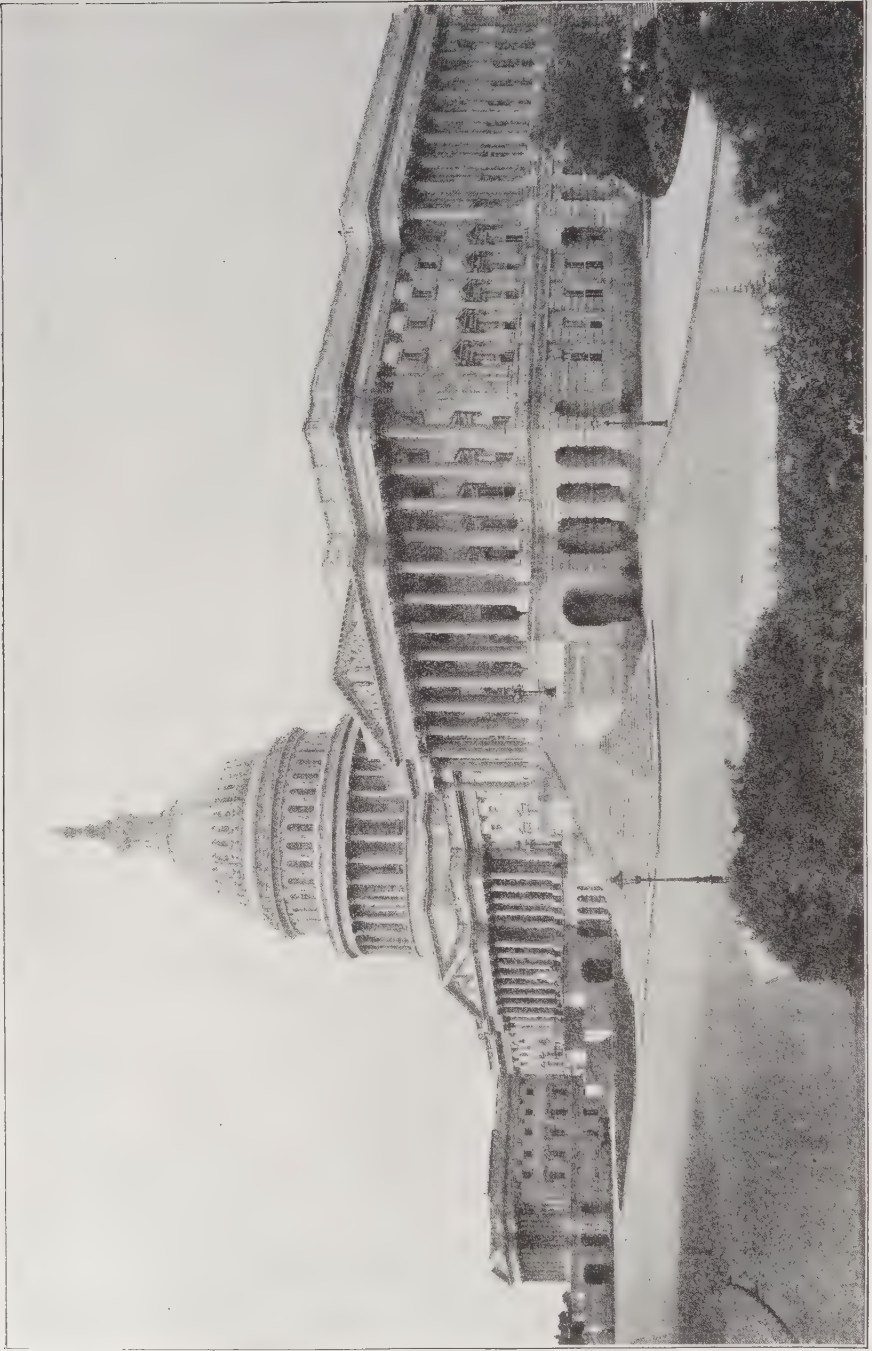
When John Quincy Adams died in 1848, he had seen all the preceding Presidents, while every one that succeeded him down to the close of the nineteenth century was then living.

Washington was the only President to die in the eighteenth century. Twenty-six and a half years—the longest interval that has yet occurred—passed before there was another death, the next longest interval being between 1849 and 1862.

Washington, during his younger days, was a thorough sportsman, but seems to have abandoned the rod and gun after the opening of the Revolution. John Quincy Adams, next to Benjamin Franklin, was the most famous swimmer among public men. He was fond of long, brisk walks before the sun rose, rarely omitting them in summer or winter. All the earlier Presidents were horseback riders, Washington undoubtedly being the most skillful, as he was the most powerful and best all-round athlete. In his younger days there was no more enthusiastic fox-rider in the country.

Madison was no sportsman, finding his greatest solace in his

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A WORLD
POWER
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THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D. C.

books. Jefferson was a rider, and, besides being a good student, was always fond of exercise. Monroe was often in the saddle until a short time before his death. Arthur was a famous fisherman, and Harrison's skill as a duck hunter was well known. Cleveland was also fond of the rod and gun. Roosevelt, however, by his exploits in Africa and South America, proved himself the mightiest hunter of them all.

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Jefferson, like Washington and most of the other Southern Presidents, retired from office to his plantation. There he lived long enough to become bankrupt, chiefly through lavish hospitality, and to be founder and first rector of the University of Virginia, a matter he thought worthy to be recorded on his tombstone.

John Quincy Adams was the first ex-President to return to active participation in national politics, and the only one to serve many successive terms in Congress, or, indeed, to be chosen to the lower House. His father never outlived the general unpopularity under which he retired from office. Andrew Johnson was the only ex-President to be elected to the United States Senate, and he died in the year of his election. Monroe and Madison both went back to their plantations, and both were members of the Convention of 1829, to amend the constitution of Virginia. Jackson lived in retirement at the Hermitage for eight years, and meanwhile joined the Presbyterian church.

The Ex-
Presi-
dents

Van Buren, Fillmore, Cleveland, and Roosevelt were the only ex-Presidents to be renominated for the presidency, and Cleveland was the only one to be reelected. Van Buren, as Free Soil candidate in 1848, carried no state, but received nearly three hundred thousand votes, and Fillmore, as candidate of the American party in 1856, carried the state of Maryland. Tyler alone of ex-Presidents was an officer of the Confederate government. He died at Richmond in 1862 while serving as a member of the Confederate Congress. Polk lived three months in retirement at Nashville after leaving the presidency, and Buchanan at his farm "Wheatland", near Lancaster, Pa., lived seven years, wrote a history of his administration, and saw a great deal of his friends.

General Grant left the presidency to receive the plaudits of mankind in a trip around the world, and lived long enough to be drawn into unfortunate business speculations. Arthur retired from the presidency to the practice of law and a speedy death. Mr. Cleve-



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Mrs. Abigail Adams
Mrs. Madison
Mrs. Monroe

Martha Washington
Mrs. J. Q. Adams

Mrs. Randolph
Mrs. Jackson
Mrs. Van Buren

LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE—1789 TO 1841

land went to the practice of law and a third nomination, after which he made his home at Princeton, N. J., where he died June 24, 1908. Hayes lived the quiet life of a retired farmer until his death in January, 1893.

PERIOD VIII
—
A WORLD
POWER
—

The personality of the ladies who have presided in the White House is as interesting as that of the Presidents themselves. All, without exception, have honored their sex and adorned American womanhood. No whisper of scandal has ever been heard against their names, and the atmosphere of the "Court of the Republic" has been as pure as that which cools our mountain-tops. Beauty, virtue, wit, and all that commands the respect and admiration of mankind have characterized that line of renowned women whose memory is among the precious heirlooms of our common country.

The
Ladies
of the
White
House

Martha Washington never presided at the White House, because the building bearing that name was not erected until after her husband's death. The present executive mansion, however, was named in honor of her private residence, so that in a figurative sense she was the first lady to grace the White House. She was born in the same year with her illustrious husband, her name being Martha Dandridge, of Virginia. At the age of nineteen she married Daniel Parke Custis, by whom she had four children. She inherited the vast estates of her husband, and was one of the wealthiest women in the Old Dominion. She was a widow of rare beauty and accomplishments, when in 1759 she became the wife of Washington. Her wealth and fine taste enabled her to entertain in magnificent style in New York, the capital of the country, during her husband's administration. She fully shared that great man's fervent patriotism and entered into all his feelings during the days that tried men's souls, undergoing many hardships and privations for the cause of independence. Both she and Washington were fond of pomp and ceremony, and their stately receptions were as enjoyable to the one as to the other. Mount Vernon was noted even on the other side of the Atlantic for its splendid hospitality, and many of the most distinguished men and women were entertained there. Martha Washington was an excellent housekeeper, and gave her husband great assistance in the management of their immense estate. She died in 1802.

Martha
Wash-
ington

Abigail Adams was the daughter of Rev. William Smith, of Weymouth, Mass., and was born in 1744. At the age of twenty she became the wife of John Adams, afterwards the second President

Abigail
Adams



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Mrs. Tyler
Mrs. Polk
Mrs. Johnson

Mrs. Patterson
Mrs. Lincoln

Mrs. Pierce
Miss Lane
Mrs. Fillmore

LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE—1841 TO 1869

of the United States. She possessed great strength of character, strong sense, and fervid patriotism. While her husband was President, the capital was removed to Washington, which was then a straggling town, mostly built in a swamp. The White House was only half finished, and she held her receptions in the room afterwards used as the library. She was as fond of ceremony as Martha Washington, and was an invaluable companion to her husband. Her letters to him, published in 1848, are of historic importance, and attest her remarkable mental powers. She died in 1818, eight years before her husband.

PERIOD VIII

A WORLD
POWER
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Martha Wayles Jefferson, born in Virginia, was the widow of Bathurst Skelton, when she became the wife of Thomas Jefferson in 1772. She was highly educated, very beautiful, and a devoted wife, but she died in 1782, twenty years before Jefferson became President. During his two terms it may be said the White House was without a lady. His daughters, Mrs. Randolph and Mrs. Eppes, visited it only twice. Occasionally Mrs. Madison officiated as hostess. Mrs. Eppes was at the White House when her child was born, it being the first birth in that historical structure. Mrs. Randolph was fitted in every respect to preside as the hostess of the executive mansion, but the demands of her family forbade.

Martha
Wayles
Jefferson

Dorothy Paine Madison was born in 1772 and became the wife and widow of John Todd, a Quaker lawyer of Philadelphia. She married James Madison in 1794, and was one of the most popular ladies that have presided in the White House. She may not have been as elegant in some respects as her predecessors, but she possessed great tact and wit, and seemed never to forget a face. She bubbled over with good nature, cared little for ceremony, was fond of the society of young people, and "Dolly Madison" was well liked by everyone. She died in 1849.

"Dolly"
Paine
Madison

Elizabeth Kortright Monroe was born in 1768 and married Monroe in 1786. She was tall, dignified, highly educated, and the opposite in manner to Mrs. Madison. A great deal of her life had been spent abroad, and she was ceremonious and severe in her social principles. She returned no calls and required full dress. It was said of her that she was "an elegant and accomplished woman, with a dignity of manner that peculiarly fitted her for her station". She died suddenly in 1830, one year before the death of her husband.

Mrs.
Monroe

Louisa Catherine, wife of John Quincy Adams, was born and edu-



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Mrs. Garfield
Mrs. Harrison
Mrs. Grant

Mrs. McKinley
Mrs. Cleveland

Mrs. McElroy
Mrs. Hayes
Miss Cleveland

LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE—1869 TO 1901

cated in London, where she met and married her distinguished husband at the age of twenty-two. She was very accomplished, and possessed considerable beauty. She spent the first part of her married life with her husband at the court of Berlin and afterwards at the Russian court. Her health was declining when she entered the White House, and her life there was quiet and uneventful.

PERIOD VIII
A WORLD
POWER
—
Mrs.
J. Q.
Adams

The wife of Andrew Jackson died just before his inauguration, and her nieces, Mrs. Andrew Donelson and Mrs. Andrew Jackson, Jr., wife of the general's adopted son, acted in the place of the departed one. The four children of Mrs. Donelson were all born in the White House.

Mrs.
Donelson
and
Jackson

Like Jefferson, Van Buren had been a widower for twenty years when he became President. During his term, Angelica, wife of John, his eldest son, presided with tact and good taste at the White House. William Henry Harrison died within one month after his inauguration, and before his wife had completed her preparations for occupying the executive mansion.

Mrs.
Van
Buren

Letitia C. Tyler was born in 1790 and married John Tyler in 1813. Her health became delicate and she died in 1842, soon after coming to Washington. For some time afterwards, Mrs. Robert Tyler, the daughter-in-law, presided at the White House. In 1844 President Tyler married Miss Julia Gardner, who was born in 1824 and died in 1888. She reigned brilliantly for eight months, when the term of her husband came to an end.

Mrs.
Tyler

Sarah Childress was born in 1803 and married James K. Polk in 1824. She was a favorite in Washington society, very graceful and accomplished. She was a strict member of the Presbyterian church, banished dancing from the White House, and allowed no refreshments at the presidential receptions, but retained her popularity to the end. She lived to a great age, not passing away until 1891.

Mrs.
Polk

The wife of President Taylor went to the White House with extreme reluctance. The stormy military life of her husband had kept them apart for so many years that her dearest wish was that what remained to them of life should be spent together in the quiet of their home. The election of General Taylor destroyed this dream, and she gave over to Mrs. Major Bliss the charge of the receptions, dinners, and ceremonies expected from the wife of the President.

Mrs. Bliss

The death of President Taylor brought Mrs. Abigail Powers Fill-

PERIOD VIII
A WORLD
POWER
—

Mrs.
Fillmore

more to the White House. She had been a teacher for several years before and after her marriage to Mr. Fillmore, which took place when she was twenty-seven years old. She was sociable and accomplished, but suffered so much from lameness that she resigned her place, so far as she could, to her young daughter.

Mrs.
Pierce

When President Pierce and his wife were on their way to Washington, their little boy was killed before their eyes in a railway accident. The mother never recovered from the shock. She was the daughter of President Appleton, of Bowdoin College, and had poetic tastes, with slight interest in social and political affairs. Her profound grief commanded the sympathy of everyone, and she was pronounced one of the most perfect ladies of all that had graced the White House.

Miss
Lane

James Buchanan was the first bachelor President of the United States. His niece, Harriet Lane, presided as hostess during his term. She was tall, finely featured, with a commanding presence and beautiful complexion, and was greatly admired. Her reign was a gay and vivacious one, though, when it ended, the fires of the great Civil War had already been kindled.

Mrs.
Lincoln

Mary Todd Lincoln, born in 1818, was twenty-four years old when she married Abraham Lincoln in 1842. She was a cheerful, kind-hearted woman, but the awful death of her husband and the loss of her sons unsettled her mind. She peacefully passed away in 1882.

Mrs.
Johnson

Miss Eliza McCardle was born in 1810, and when sixteen years old married Andrew Johnson, who himself was barely eighteen years of age, and still a tailor's apprentice. He could hardly write his name, but he studied hard under her instruction until his knowledge surpassed hers. No wife could have been more helpful than she. When the strange mutations of politics placed her in the White House, her health was so broken that she was unequal to the task of acting as hostess. Consequently, the duties devolved upon her daughters, Mrs. Martha Patterson, wife of Senator Patterson, of Tennessee, and Mrs. Stover, a widow, both of whom displayed tact, dignity, and ability. Mrs. Johnson died in 1876, one year after her husband.

Mrs.
Grant

Julia Dent was born in 1826 and married Ulysses S. Grant in 1848. She was well educated, and proved an admirable wife and hostess of the White House, which became the scene of many mag-

nificent entertainments. One of the most memorable occasions was the marriage, May 21, 1874, of General Grant's only daughter, Nellie, to Algernon Sartoris, of Hampshire, England. The wedding was the most brilliant ever seen in Washington.

PERIOD VIII
—
A WORLD
POWER
—

Lucy Webb married Rutherford B. Hayes in 1852, and was widely known for her devotion to the soldiers wounded in the Civil War. Her experience during her husband's three terms as governor of Ohio qualified her perfectly to preside at the White House, which she did with great grace and dignity. She was gentle, refined, and a devout Christian, laboring untiringly in behalf of temperance and other good causes.

Mrs.
Hayes

Miss Lucretia Rudolph was born in 1832 and married James A. Garfield in 1858, when he became president of Hiram College, in which both had been students. She possessed fine accomplishments, but hardly was she called to preside at the White House when her life was darkened by the tragedy that shocked the civilized world. During the President's long suffering from his mortal wound, she was the most untiring of all the attendants at his bedside.

Mrs.
Garfield

Chester A. Arthur was a widower when called to assume the duties of President, and the position of hostess was never filled more gracefully than by his sister, Mrs. McElroy.

Mrs.
McElroy

From 1885 to 1886 of President Cleveland's first term, his sister, Miss Rose Elizabeth Cleveland, was the lady of the White House. She was a teacher and author, born in 1846, and her brief reign was worthy of her predecessors. The President was married June 2, 1886, to Frances Folsom, born in 1864. Excepting Dolly Madison, she was the youngest mistress of the White House, whose hospitalities she dispensed with a sweetness, grace, and tact that could not be surpassed.

Mrs.
Cleveland

Caroline Lavinia Scott married Benjamin Harrison in 1854, and was his companion and helper in adversity, as well as the sharer of his prosperity. She was highly educated, and devoted her life to charitable and church work. None was more respected for her grace and true womanliness. Her health failed, and after a lingering illness she died, November 1, 1892.

Mrs.
Harrison

Ida Saxton was the daughter of James A. Saxton, who was a prominent business man and banker of Canton, Ohio. She was educated at Cleveland and at Media, Pa. At the close of her school days she made an extended tour in Europe, returning home in 1869.

Mrs.
McKin-
ley



Mrs. Edith Carow Roosevelt
Mrs. Ellen Axsen Wilson

Mrs. Helen Herron Taft
Mrs. Edith Bolling Wilson

LADIES OF THE WHITE HOUSE—1901 TO 1917

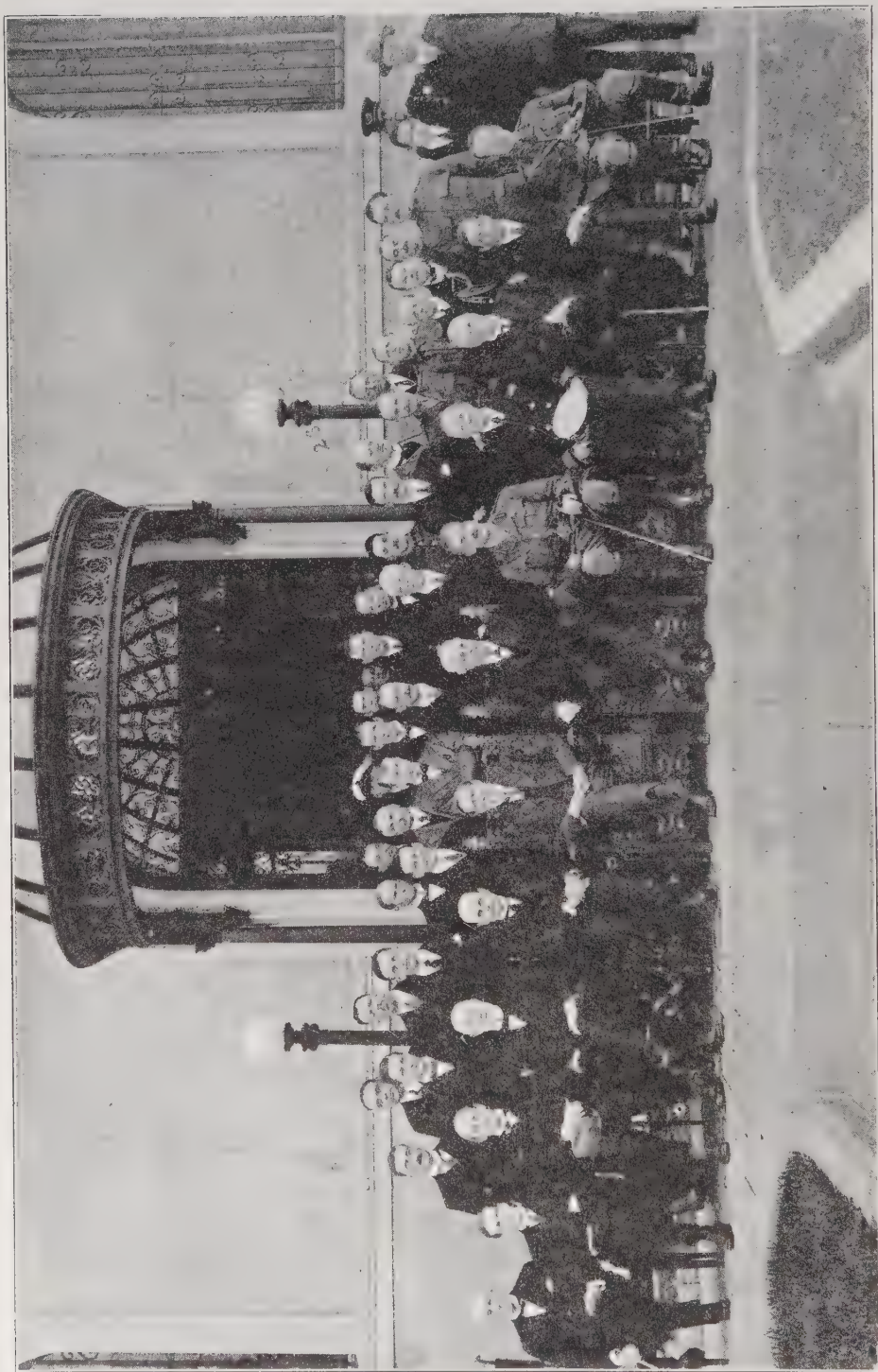
She and William McKinley were married, January 15, 1871, in the Presbyterian church of Canton, of which she was a member. The baby born to them on Christmas Day, 1871, died a few months before the birth of her second child, which also died, followed soon by the death of Mrs. McKinley's mother. These afflictions, coupled with a physical ailment, made Mrs. McKinley a permanent invalid, and tinged her life with an ever-present sorrow.

When Theodore Roosevelt was inaugurated President he had been married five years to his second wife, *née* Edith Kermit Carow. In the same year of Roosevelt's marriage, William H. Taft became the husband of Helen Herron. One year previous (1885), Woodrow Wilson was married to Ellen Louise Axsen. All these ladies, like their predecessors, added grace, dignity and honor to their exalted station. The death of Mrs. Wilson, August 6, 1914, caused sympathy throughout the land for her husband and family. Two of the three daughters had been married during the presidency of their father. He and Mrs. Norman Galt were united in matrimony in Washington, December 18, 1915.

PERIOD VIII
—
A WORLD
POWER
—

Mrs.
Roose-
velt, Taft
and
Wilson





BRITISH WAR MISSION AT WASHINGTON



CHAPTER VI

PRESIDENT WILSON'S WAR MESSAGES

FOREWORD



THE entrance of the United States into the European war resulted in the production of a series of messages and addresses by President Woodrow Wilson, to the Congress, to the American people, and to the world, which are of unique prominence among state papers. These documents marked a new era for the United States, a radical departure from the previous policy of the country. The President had no precedents to guide him, and must blaze his own way along a new trail. This gives to these papers special historical distinction.

In these messages, the President, for the first time among all the state papers issued by the different nations, made a lucid expression of the fundamental principles involved in the war, clearly defining the basic questions at issue.

The addresses themselves are of the highest literary and authoritative character, and reach a moral elevation very unusual in state and diplomatic documents. They present a concise and connected statement of the causes which led up to our participation in the war against Germany, and form a most important and interesting addition to the current history of our country. They well repay the most careful reading by everyone desiring to be correctly informed upon the great questions at issue in the gigantic World War, and the only conditions upon which a permanent world-peace could be established. In the mighty contest the President stood forth as the spokesman for humanity.—*Editor.*

PRESIDENT WILSON'S PEACE SUGGESTION

[*Note:* On the 22d of January, 1917, President Wilson appeared before the Senate, which is the constituted adviser of the President at such times, and informed that body that he had addressed the governments of the European nations now at war, asking each of them to define the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace, and giving his reasons for having so done. He outlined to the senators, the principles upon which alone he believed that a permanent peace for the world might be arranged. He explained that the United States must be profoundly interested in any peace that the belligerent nations might arrange, inasmuch as it was essential for the welfare of this nation as well as of all others, that the prospective peace should be on a permanent basis of justice, freedom, and equality for all nations and peoples.]

Gentlemen of the Senate:

On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the governments of the nations now at war, requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace.

In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you,

without reserve, the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our government in these days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundation of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their government, ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty.

They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present war must first be ended; but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended.

The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind; not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should not be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the

peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves.

Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged in any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it.

If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement?

Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought.

I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak.

Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principles that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and

social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset.

It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and co-operation.

No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the nations of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is the problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation.

Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back.

I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty?

I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence

because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence. These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind, and must prevail.

THE PRESIDENT BREAKS DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY

[*Note:* On February 3, 1917, President Wilson addressed the two Houses of Congress in joint session. The German government had sought to establish certain restricted war zones from which they prohibited all neutral traffic, and had claimed and exercised the right to destroy the ships of belligerent nations, and of neutral nations entering these zones without their permission. The President explained that the United States had found it impossible to secure safety for its ships, and also that the promises made by Germany could not be relied upon. He expressed the hope that Germany might so change her policy as to make continued peace possible.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

The Imperial German government, on the 31st of January, announced to this government and to the governments of the other

neutral nations that on and after the first day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-Channel passenger-steamer *Sussex* by a German submarine, without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of the lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this government addressed a note to the Imperial German government in which it made the following declaration:

If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the German government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

In reply to this declaration the German government gave this government the following assurances:

The German government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German government believes, now as before, itself to be in agreement with the government of the United States.

The German government, guided by this idea, notifies the government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders:

In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared as naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving

human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

But neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German government is convinced that the government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter it has been violated.

To this the government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding:

The government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the government of the United States and any other belligerent government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial government's note of the 4th instant might appear to be susceptible to that construction. In order, however, to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the government of the United States notifies the Imperial government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative.

To this note of the 8th of May, the Imperial German government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contains the following statement:

The Imperial government, therefore, does not doubt that the government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war

and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intentions of the Entente Allies give back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after February 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the eastern Mediterranean all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to France, etc. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have, therefore, directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed, and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will immediately be withdrawn, and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which they have exchanged between them and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded, if American ships and American lives should, in fact, be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing else. I take it for granted that all neutral governments will take the same course.

I do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German government. We are the sincere friends of the German people and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people which I sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the government of Germany.

THE PRESIDENT ASKS FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT

[*Note:* On February 26, 1917, the President appeared again before the Congress and informed that body that in spite of the continued pacific efforts of the United States, and the repeated promises of Germany, American ships had been sunk by German U-boats. He deemed it his duty to inform Congress that, if Germany did not change her policy at once, he would exercise his right and duty, and place gun-crews upon American vessels for their defense against possible German attacks. He asked Congress to make an appropriation of the funds necessary for providing adequate means of protection to American ships.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have again asked the privilege of addressing you because we are moving through critical times, during which it seems to me to be my duty to keep in close touch with the House of Congress so that neither counsel nor action shall run at cross-purposes between us.

On the 3d of February I officially informed you of the sudden and

unexpected action of the Imperial German government in declaring its intention to disregard the promises it had made to this government in April last and undertake immediate submarine operations against all commerce, whether of belligerents or of neutrals, that should seek to approach Great Britain and Ireland, the Atlantic coasts of Europe, or the harbors of the eastern Mediterranean, and to conduct those operations without regard to the established restrictions of international practice, without regard to any considerations of humanity, even, which might interfere with their object.

That policy was forthwith put into practice. It has now been in active exhibition for nearly four weeks. Its practical results are not fully disclosed. The commerce of other neutral nations is suffering severely, but not, perhaps, very much more severely than it was already suffering before the 1st of February, when the new policy of the Imperial government was put into operation.

We have asked the co-operation of the other neutral governments to prevent these depredations, but I fear none of them has thought it wise to join us in any common course of action. Our own commerce has suffered, is suffering, rather in apprehension than in fact, rather because so many of our ships are timidly keeping to their home ports than because American ships have been sunk.

Two American vessels have been sunk, the *Housatonic* and the *Lyman M. Law*. The case of the *Housatonic*, which was carrying food-stuffs consigned to a London firm, was essentially like the case of the *Frye*, in which, it will be recalled, the German government admitted its liability for damages, and the lives of the crew, as in the case of the *Frye*, were safeguarded with reasonable care.

The case of the *Law*, which was carrying lemon-box staves to Palermo, disclosed a ruthlessness of method which deserves grave condemnation, but was accompanied by no circumstances which might not have been expected at any time in connection with the use of the submarine against merchantmen as the German government has used it.

In sum, therefore, the situation we find ourselves in with regard to the actual conduct of the German submarine warfare against commerce and its effects upon our own ships and people is substantially the same that it was when I addressed you on the 3d of February, except for the tying up of our shipping in our own ports

because of the unwillingness of our ship-owners to risk their vessels at sea without insurance or adequate protection, and the very serious congestion of our commerce which has resulted, a congestion which is growing rapidly more and more serious every day.

This in itself might presently accomplish, in effect, what the new German submarine orders were meant to accomplish, so far as we are concerned. We can only say, therefore, that the overt act which I have ventured to hope the German commanders would in fact avoid has not occurred.

But while this is happily true, it must be admitted that there have been certain additional indications and expressions of purpose on the part of the German press and the German authorities which have increased rather than lessened the impression that if our ships and our people are spared it will be because of fortunate circumstances or because the commanders of the German submarines which they may happen to encounter exercise an unexpected discretion and restraint, rather than because of the instructions under which those commanders are acting.

It would be foolish to deny that the situation is fraught with the gravest possibilities and dangers. No thoughtful man can fail to see that the necessity for definite action may come at any time, if we are in fact, and not in word merely, to defend our elementary rights as a neutral nation. It would be most imprudent to be unprepared.

I cannot in such circumstances be unmindful of the fact that the expiration of the term of the present Congress is immediately at hand by constitutional limitation, and that it would in all likelihood require an unusual length of time to assemble and organize the Congress which is to succeed it.

I feel that I ought, in view of that fact, to obtain from you full and immediate assurance of the authority which I may need at any moment to exercise. No doubt I already possess that authority without special warrant of law by the plain implication of my constitutional duties and powers, but I prefer in the present circumstances not to act upon general implication. I wish to feel that the authority and the power of the Congress are behind me in whatever it may become necessary for me to do. We are jointly the servants of the people and must act together and in their spirit, so far as we can divine and interpret it.

No one doubts what it is our duty to do. We must defend our commerce and the lives of our people in the midst of the present trying circumstances with discretion, but with clear and steadfast purpose. Only the method and the extent remain to be chosen upon the occasion, if occasion should indeed arise.

Since it has unhappily proved impossible to safeguard our neutral rights by diplomatic means against the unwarranted infringements they are suffering at the hands of Germany, there may be no recourse but to armed neutrality, which we shall know how to maintain and for which there is abundant American precedent.

It is devoutly to be hoped that it will not be necessary to put armed forces anywhere into action. The American people do not desire it, and our desire is not different from theirs. I am sure that they will understand the spirit in which I am now acting, the purpose I hold nearest my heart, and would wish to exhibit in everything I do. I am anxious that the people of the nations at war also should understand and not mistrust us. I hope that I need give no further proofs and assurances than I have already given throughout nearly three years of anxious patience that I am the friend of peace, and mean to preserve it for America so long as I am able.

I am not now proposing or contemplating war, or any steps that lead to it. I merely request that you will accord me by your own vote and definite bestowal the means and the authority to safeguard in practice the right of a great people, who are at peace and who are desirous of exercising none but the rights of peace, to follow the pursuits of peace in quietness and good will—rights recognized time out of mind by all the civilized nations of the world.

No course of my choosing or of theirs will lead to war. War can come only by the willful acts and aggressions of others.

You will understand why I can make no definite proposals or forecasts of action now, and must ask for your supporting authority in the most general terms. The form in which action may become necessary cannot yet be foreseen. I believe that the people will be willing to trust me to act with restraint, with prudence, and in the true spirit of amity and good faith that they have themselves displayed throughout these trying months; and it is in that belief that I request that you will authorize me to supply our merchant-ships with defensive arms should that become necessary, and with the means of using them, and to employ any other



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instrumentalities or methods that may be necessary and adequate to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits of the seas. I request also that you will grant me at the same time, along with the powers I ask, a sufficient credit to enable me to provide adequate means of protection where they are lacking, including adequate insurance against the present war risks. I have spoken of our commerce and of the legitimate errands of our people on the seas, but you will not be misled as to my main thought, the thought that lies beneath these phrases and gives them dignity and weight.

It is not of material interest merely that we are thinking. It is, rather, of fundamental human rights, chief of all the right of life itself. I am thinking not only of the rights of Americans to go and come about their proper business by way of the sea, but also of something much deeper, much more fundamental than that. I am thinking of the rights of humanity without which there is no civilization. My theme is of those great principles of compassion and of protection which mankind has sought to throw about human lives—the lives of noncombatants, the lives of men who are peacefully at work keeping the industrial processes of the world quick and vital, the lives of women and children, and of those who supply the labor which ministers to their sustenance.

We are speaking of no selfish material rights, but of rights which our hearts support, and whose foundation is that righteous passion for justice upon which all law, all structures alike of family, of state, and of mankind must rest, and upon the ultimate base of our existence and our liberty. I cannot imagine any man with American principles at his heart hesitating to defend these things.

THE PRESIDENT ADVISES DECLARATION OF WAR

[*Note:* The situation continued to grow more critical, and, on April 2, 1917, the President appeared again before the Congress. He explained that the German government had not kept its promises, but had adopted a new policy on the seas, which had swept every promised restriction aside. Conditions had become so unbearable, that the President felt called upon to advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; and that it take immediate steps to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms, and end the war.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and

made immediately, which it was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coasts of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the Imperial government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed. The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely-bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or of principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meager enough results indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but

always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded. This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity, and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world. I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of noncombatants, men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind.

It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the twenty-sixth of February last, I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence. But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be

dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all. The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has proscribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant-ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely only to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making; we will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are no common wrongs; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the Imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent which has thus been thrust upon it; and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defense but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German Empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may so far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve

the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war at least five hundred thousand men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training. It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation.

I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people so far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting, through the several executive departments of the government, for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear, and make very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the twenty-second of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the third of February and on the twenty-sixth

of February. Our object is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval. It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked out only under cover and where no one has the right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could

plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact Russian in origin, character, or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their naive majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice, and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a League of Honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was not and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies, and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of counsel, our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began; and it is unhappily not a matter of conjecture but a fact proved in our courts of justice that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial government accredited to the government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government enter-

tains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept gauge of battle with this natural foe to liberty and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included: for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of political liberty. We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor and without selfish object, seeking nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and of fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of the governments allied with the Imperial government of Germany because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our right and our honor. The Austro-Hungarian government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of the reckless and lawless submarine warfare adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German government, and it has therefore not been possible for this government to receive Count Tarnowski, the ambassador recently accredited to this gov-

ernment by the Imperial and Royal government of Austria-Hungary; but that government has not actually engaged in warfare against citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing a discussion of our relations with the authorities at Vienna. We enter this war only where we are clearly forced into it because there are no other means of defending our rights.

It will be all the easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people or with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck. We are, let me say again, the sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as the early reëstablishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to the government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great, peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than peace,

and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have, with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

THE PRESIDENT APPEALS TO THE PATRIOTISM OF THE COUNTRY

[*Note:* On April 15, 1917, President Wilson delivered this patriotic address to "My Fellow Countrymen". In this he explains that the United States had thrown its resources and strength on the side of the Allies in the war against Germany, and in eloquent and earnest phrase he recites the reasons for this tragic step, and calls upon the country to devote its full material, financial, industrial, and military resources for the successful prosecution of the war, and the defense of the great democratic principles upon which the nation was founded, and upon the maintenance of which the future freedom, prosperity, and happiness, not only of our own nation, but of the world, depends.]

My Fellow-Countrymen:

The entrance of our own beloved country into the grim and terrible war for democracy and human rights which has shaken the world creates so many problems of national life and action which call for immediate consideration and settlement that I hope you will permit me to address to you a few words of earnest counsel and appeal with regard to them.

We are rapidly putting our navy upon an effective war footing, and are about to create and equip a great army, but these are the simplest parts of the great task to which we have addressed ourselves. There is not a single selfish element, so far as I can see, in the cause for which we are fighting. We are fighting for what we believe and wish to be the rights of mankind and for the future peace and security of the world. To do this great thing worthily and successfully we must devote ourselves to the service without regard to profit or material advantage and with an energy and

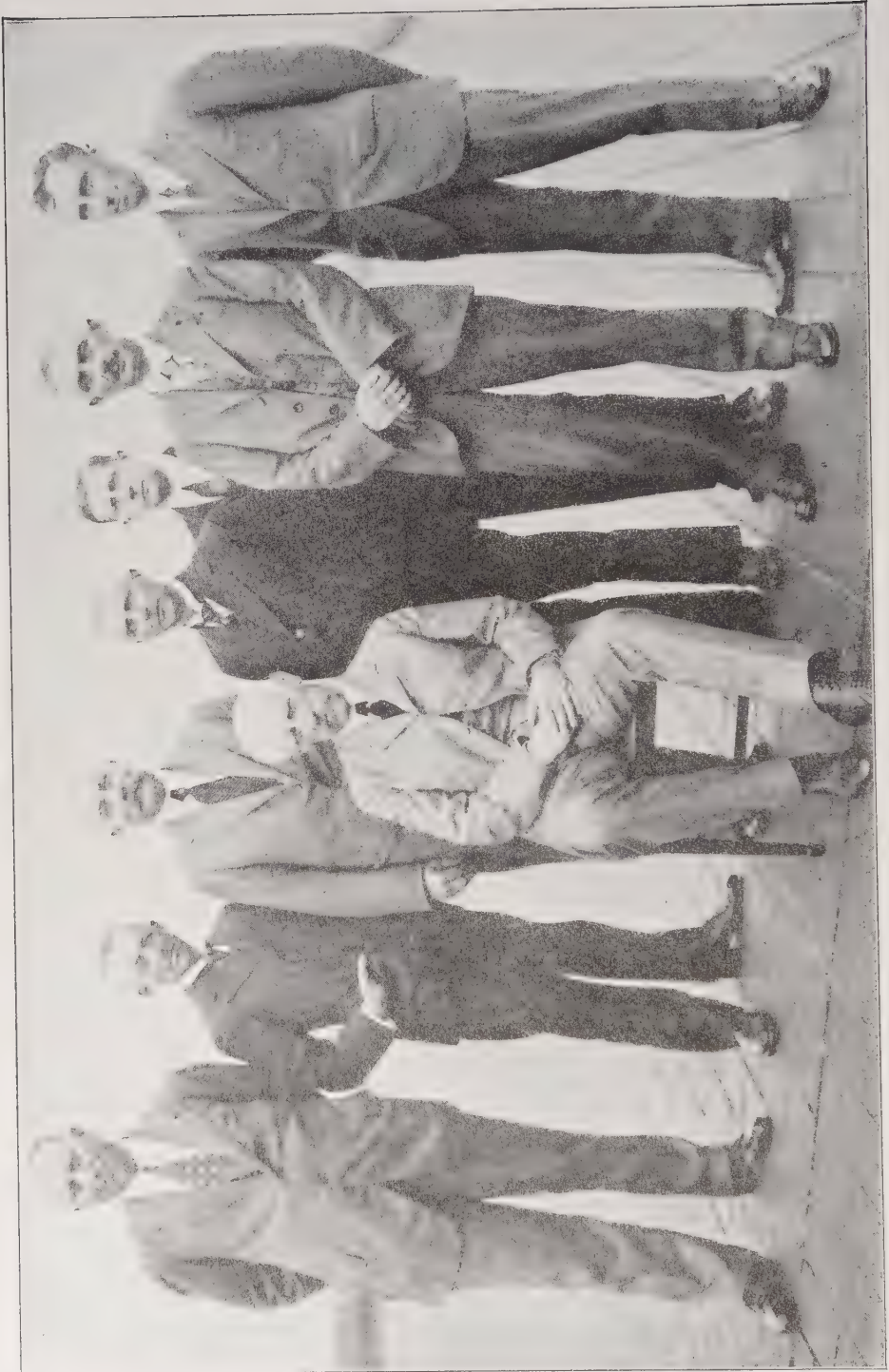
intelligence that will rise to the level of the enterprise itself. We must realize to the full how great the task is and how many things, how many kinds and elements of capacity and service and self-sacrifice it involves.

These, then, are the things we must do, and do well, besides fighting—the things without which mere fighting would be fruitless:

We must supply abundant food for ourselves and for our armies and our seamen, not only, but also for a large part of nations with whom we have now made common cause, in whose support and by whose sides we shall be fighting.

We must supply ships by the hundreds out of our shipyards to carry to the other side of the sea, submarines or no submarines, what will every day be needed there, and abundant materials out of our fields and our mines and our factories with which not only to clothe and equip our own forces on land and sea, but also to clothe and support our people, for whom the gallant fellows under arms can no longer work; to help clothe and equip the armies with which we are co-operating in Europe, and to keep the looms and manufactories there in raw materials; coal to keep the fires going in ships at sea and in the furnaces of hundreds of factories across the sea; steel out of which to make arms and ammunitions both here and there; rails for worn-out railways back of the fighting fronts; locomotives and rolling-stock to take the place of those every day going to pieces; mules, horses, cattle, for labor and for military service; everything with which the people of England and France and Italy and Russia have usually supplied themselves, but cannot now afford the men, the materials or the machinery to make.

It is evident to every thinking man that our industries, on the farms, in the shipyards, in the mines, in the factories, must be made more prolific and more efficient than ever, and that they must be more economically managed and better adapted to the particular requirements of our task than they have been; and what I want to say is that the men and women who devote their thought and their energy to these things will be serving the country and conducting the fight for peace and freedom just as truly and just as effectively as the men on the battlefield or in the trenches. The industrial forces of the country, men and women alike, will be a great national, a great international service army—a notable and honored host engaged in the service of the nation and the world, the efficient



NORWEGIAN WAR MISSION

friends and saviors of free men everywhere. Thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, of men otherwise liable to military service will of right and of necessity be excused from that service and assigned to the fundamental sustaining work of the fields and factories and mines, and they will be as much part of the great patriotic forces of the nation as the men under fire.

I take the liberty, therefore, of addressing this word to the farmers of the country and to all who work on the farms: The supreme need of our own nation and of the nations with which we are co-operating is an abundance of supplies, and especially of foodstuffs. The importance of an adequate food-supply, especially for the present year, is superlative. Without abundant food, alike for the armies and the peoples now at war, the whole great enterprise upon which we have embarked will break down and fail. The world's food reserves are low. Not only during the present emergency, but for some time after peace shall have come, both our own people and a large proportion of the people of Europe must rely upon the harvests in America.

Upon the farmers of this country, therefore, in large measure rests the fate of the war and the fate of the nations. May the nation not count upon them to omit no step that will increase the production of their land or that will bring about the most effectual co-operation in the sale and distribution of their products? The time is short. It is of the most imperative importance that everything possible be done, and done immediately, to make sure of large harvests. I call upon young men and old alike and upon the able-bodied boys of the land to accept and act upon this duty—to turn in hosts to the farms and make certain that no pains and no labor is lacking in this great matter.

I particularly appeal to the farmers of the South to plant abundant foodstuffs, as well as cotton. They can show their patriotism in no better or more convincing way than by resisting the great temptation of the present price of cotton and helping, helping upon a great scale, to feed the nation and the peoples everywhere who are fighting for their liberties and for our own. The variety of their crops will be the visible measure of their comprehension of their national duty.

The government of the United States and the governments of the several states stand ready to co-operate. They will do every-

thing possible to assist farmers in securing an adequate supply of seed, an adequate force of laborers when they are most needed, at harvest-time, and the means of expediting shipments of fertilizers and farm machinery, as well as the crops themselves when harvested. The course of trade shall be as unhampered as it is possible to make it, and there shall be no unwarranted manipulation of the nation's food supply by those who handle it on its way to the consumer. This is our opportunity to demonstrate the efficiency of a great democracy, and we shall not fall short of it!

This let me say to the middlemen of every sort, whether they are handling our foodstuffs or the raw materials of manufacture or the products of our mills and factories: the eyes of the country will be especially upon you. This is your opportunity for signal service, efficient and disinterested. The country expects you, as it expects all others, to forego unusual profits, to organize and expedite shipments of supplies of every kind, but especially of food, with an eye to the service you are rendering and in the spirit of those who enlist in the ranks, for their people, not for themselves. I shall confidently expect you to deserve and win the confidence of people of every sort and station.

To the men who run the railways of the country, whether they be managers or operative employees, let me say that the railways are the arteries of the nation's life and that upon them rests the immense responsibility of seeing to it that those arteries suffer no obstruction of any kind, no inefficiency or slackened power. To the merchant let me suggest the motto, "Small profits and quick service", and to the shipbuilder the thought that the life of the war depends upon him. The food and the war supplies must be carried across the seas, no matter how many ships are sent to the bottom. The places of those that go down must be supplied, and supplied at once. To the miner let me say that he stands where the farmer does: the work of the world waits on him. If he slackens or fails, armies and statesmen are helpless. He also is enlisted in the great Service Army. The manufacturer does not need to be told, I hope, that the nation looks to him to speed and perfect every process; and I want only to remind his employees that their service is absolutely indispensable and is counted on by every man who loves the country and its liberties.

Let me suggest also that everyone who creates or cultivates a

garden helps, and helps greatly, to solve the problem of the feeding of the nations; and that every housewife who practices strict economy puts herself in the ranks of those who serve the nation. This is the time for America to correct her unpardonable fault of wastefulness and extravagance. Let every man and every woman assume the duty of careful, provident use and expenditure as a public duty, as a dictate of patriotism which no one can now expect ever to be excused or forgiven for ignoring.

In the hope that this statement of the needs of the nation and of the world in this hour of supreme crisis may stimulate those to whom it comes and remind all who need reminder of the solemn duties of a time such as the world has never seen before, I beg that all editors and publishers everywhere will give as prominent publication and as wide circulation as possible to this appeal. I venture to suggest also to all advertising agencies that they would perhaps render a very substantial and timely service to the country if they would give it widespread repetition. And I hope that clergymen will not think the theme of it an unworthy or inappropriate subject of comment and homily from their pulpits.

The supreme test of the nation has come. We must all speak, act, and serve together!

THE PRESIDENT'S FLAG DAY ADDRESS

[*Note:* On June 14, 1917, National Flag Day, President Wilson delivered the following address to the American public, in which he recites the offenses of Germany against the peace, prosperity, happiness, and freedom of the world, and reminds the American people of their imperative duty, as the defenders of the principles of democracy and freedom, symbolized by the flag, the Stars and Stripes. This notable address touches the high-water mark of patriotism and eloquence and is worthy of the most careful study.]

My Fellow Citizens:

We meet to celebrate Flag Day, because this flag, which we honor and under which we serve, is the emblem of our unity, power, our thought and purpose as a nation. It has no other character than that which we give it from generation to generation. The choices are ours. It floats in majestic silence above the hosts that execute those choices, whether in peace or in war.

And yet, though silent, it speaks to us—speaks to us of the past, of the men and women who went before us and of the records they wrote upon it. We celebrate the day of its birth; and from its birth

until now it has witnessed a great history, has floated on high the symbol of great events, of a great plan of life worked by a great people. We are about to carry it into battle, to lift it where it will draw the fire of our enemies.

We are about to bid thousands, hundreds of thousands, it may be millions, of our men, the young, the strong, the capable men, of the nation, to go forth and die beneath it on fields of blood far away—for what? For some unaccustomed thing? For something for which it has never sought the fire before? American armies were never before sent across the seas.

Why are they sent now? For some new purpose, for which this great flag has never been carried before, or for some old, familiar, heroic purpose for which it has seen men—its own men—die on every battlefield upon which Americans have borne arms since the Revolution?

These are questions which must be answered. We are Americans. We in our turn serve America and can serve her with no private purpose. We must use her flag as she has always used it. We are accountable at the bar of history and must plead in utter frankness what purpose it is we seek to serve.

It is plain enough how we were forced into the war. The extraordinary insults and aggressions of the Imperial German government left us no self-respecting choice but to take up arms in defense of our rights as a free people, and of our honor as a sovereign government. The military masters of Germany denied us the right to be neutral.

They filled our unsuspecting communities with vicious spies and conspirators and sought to corrupt the opinions of our people in their own behalf. When they found that they could not do that, their agents diligently spread sedition amongst us and sought to draw our own citizens from their allegiance, and some of those agents were even connected with the official Embassy of the German government itself here in our own capital. They sought by violence to destroy our industries and arrest our commerce.

They tried to incite Mexico to take up arms against us and to draw Japan into a hostile alliance with her—and that, not by indirection, but by direct suggestion from the Foreign Office in Berlin. They impudently denied us the use of the high seas and repeatedly executed their threat that they would send to their death any of our people who ventured to approach the coasts of Europe.

And many of our people were corrupted. Men began to look upon their own neighbors with suspicion and to wonder in their hot resentment and surprise whether there was any community in which hostile intrigue did not lurk. What great nation in such circumstances would not have taken up arms? Much as we had desired peace, it was denied us, and not of our own choice. This flag under which we served would have been dishonored had we withheld our hand.

But that is only part of the story. We know now as clearly as we knew before we were ourselves engaged that we are not the enemies of the German people, and that they are not our enemies. They did not originate or desire this hideous war or wish that we should be drawn into it, and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it, as well as our own.

They are themselves in the grip of the same sinister power that has now at last stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us. The whole world is at war because the whole world is in the grip of that power, and is trying out the great battle which shall determine whether it is to be brought under its mastery or fling itself free.

The war was begun by the military masters of Germany, who proved to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men have never regarded nations as peoples, men, women and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom governments existed and in whom governments had their life. They have regarded them merely as serviceable organizations which they could by force or intrigue bend or corrupt to their own purpose.

They have regarded the smaller states, in particular, and the peoples who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination. Their purpose has long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention, regarding what German professors expounded in their classrooms and German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy, as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs, as preposterous private conceptions of German destiny, than as the actual plans of responsible rulers; but the rulers of Germany themselves knew all the while what concrete plans, what well advanced intrigues lay back of what the professors and the writers were saying,

and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of Balkan states with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey, to drill her armies and make interest with her government, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, setting their fires in Persia.

The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in a plan which compasses Europe and Asia, from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped these demands might arouse Europe, but they meant to press them whether they did or not, for they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms.

Their plan was to throw a broad belt of German military power and political control across the very center of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia, and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia, or Bulgaria, or Turkey, or the ponderous states of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that had originally cemented the German states themselves. The dream had its heart at Berlin.

It could have had a heart nowhere else! It rejected the idea of solidarity of race entirely. The choice of peoples played no part in it at all. It contemplated binding together racial and political units which would be kept together only by force—Czechs, Magyars, Serbs, Roumanians, Turks, Armenians—the proud states of Bohemia and Hungary, the stout little commonwealths of the Balkans, the indomitable Turks, the subtle peoples of the East. These peoples did not wish to be united. They ardently desired to direct their own affairs—would be satisfied only by undisputed independence.

They could be kept quiet only by the presence or the constant threat of armed men. They would live under a German Power only by sheer compulsion, and await the day of revolution. But the German military statesmen had reckoned with all that and were ready to deal with it in their own way.

And they have actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution! Look how things stand. Austria is at their mercy. It has acted not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the war began. Its people now desire peace, but cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin.

The so-called Central Powers are in fact but a single Power. Serbia is at its mercy, should its hands be but for a moment freed. Bulgaria has consented to its will and Roumania is overrun. The Turkish armies, which Germany trained, are serving Germany, certainly not themselves, and the guns of German warships lying in the harbor at Constantinople remind Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin. From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread.

Is it not easy to understand the eagerness for peace that has been manifested from Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? Peace, peace, peace has been the talk of her Foreign Office for now a year and more; not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private.

Through all sorts of channels it has come to me, and in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German government would be willing to accept. That government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close upon Russia and overrun Poland at their will. It cannot go further, it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late, and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand.

The military masters under which Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point Fate has brought them. If they fall back or are forced back an inch their power both abroad and at home will fall to pieces like a house of cards. It is their power at home they are thinking about now more than their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet; and deep fear has entered their hearts.

They have but one chance to perpetuate their military power or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now with the immense advantages still in their hands which they have up to this point apparently gained, they will have justified themselves before the German people; they will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it; an immense expansion of German power, an immense enlargement of German industrial and economical opportunities.

Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power. If they fail their people will thrust them aside. A government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany as it has been in England, in the United States, in France, and in all the great countries of the modern time except Germany. If they succeed they are safe and Germany and the world are undone; if they fail Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed America will fall within the menace.

We and all the rest of the world must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression; if they fail the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not know now of the intrigue, the intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of the nations? Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who throughout the world stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations; for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and of liberalism are gathering out of this war.

They are employing liberals in their enterprise. They are using men, in Germany and without, as their spokesmen whom they have hitherto despised and oppressed, using them for their own destruction—Socialists, the leaders of labor, the thinkers they have hitherto sought to silence.

Let them once succeed and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military empire they will have to set up; the revolutionists in Russia will be cut off from all succor or co-operation in Western Europe and a counter revolution fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next, the final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia, and in every country in Europe to which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German government can get access. That government has many spokesmen here, in places high and low. They have learned discretion. They keep within the law.

It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters; declare this a foreign war which can touch America with no danger to either her lands or her institutions; set England at the center of the stage and talk of her ambition to assert economic dominion throughout the world; appeal to our ancient tradition of isolation in the politics of the nations, and seek to undermine the government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. The false betray themselves always in every accent. It is only friends and partisans of the German government whom we have already identified who utter these thinly disguised disloyalties.

The facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere are they more plainly seen than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts and not with sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a peoples' war, a war for freedom and justice and self-government amongst all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it and have made it their own, the German people themselves included; and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies and patent cheats and masks of brute force and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated a long age through by sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of self-constituted masters, by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies and the most irresistible armaments—a power to which the world has afforded no parallel and in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there is but one choice. We have made it. Woe be to the man, or group of men, that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nations. We are ready to plead at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new luster. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we were born, and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.



THE PRESIDENT'S REPLY TO
THE POPE'S PEACE PROPOSAL

[*Note:* In the midsummer of 1917, Pope Benedict sent to all belligerent nations a proposal for a council of peace. On August 28, 1917, the President sent a reply on behalf of the United States, stating that our nation could not see its way clear at that time to accept the suggestions of the Pope, and giving the reasons therefor. This document met with the enthusiastic approval of the other allied nations, and of practically all of the neutral nations of the world, as well. It is destined to rank, during the centuries to come, as one of the best state papers of the world.]

To His Holiness, Benedict XV, Pope:

In acknowledgment of the communication of Your Holiness to the belligerent peoples, dated August 1, 1917, the President of the United States requested me to transmit the following reply:

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of His Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the human and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out.

But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else. It is not a mere cessation of arms he desires; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment that will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante bellum* and that then there be a general condonation, disarmament and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established, and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan states and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this program can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible government, which, having secretly planned to dominate the world,

proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honor; which chose its own time for the war, delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly, stopped at no barrier either of law or mercy, swept a whole continent within the tide of blood—not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor, and now stands balked, but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world.

This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted with temporary zest to the domination of its purposes; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by His Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of its strength and a renewal of its policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of nations against the German people, who are its instruments; and would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigues in which the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honor it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury.

The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose.

They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples,

not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included, if they will accept actuality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this:

Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing government on the one hand or a group of free peoples on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world, to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather a vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong.

Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves.

Without such guarantee treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German government, no man, no nation could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Powers. God grant it may be given soon, and in a way to restore the confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,

Secretary of State of the United States of America.

THE INTOLERABLE THING

[*Editor's Note:* The message of President Woodrow Wilson which he presented to the Sixty-fifth Congress at its regular session, December 4, 1917, occupies a unique place among the state papers of the world. No other utterance of a world's leader had ever been awaited with such widespread and keen interest as this. It was given the unique distinction of publication in full in every nation of the earth, a tribute never before paid to the words of any man.

The paper itself ranks as the highest expression of the ideals of humanity in international relations, and gives to President Wilson the undisputed rank as the spokesman of democracy. It sets forth clearly the objects and purposes of the American people and of the Allied nations in the war against Prussian autocracy, and names the only conditions upon which the peace of the world can be established. This document will receive the closest study of every earnest student of the world's progress.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Eight months have elapsed since I last had the honor of addressing you. They have been months crowded with events of immense and grave significance for us. I shall not undertake to detail or even to summarize those events. The practical particulars of the part we have played in them will be laid before you in the reports of the executive departments. I shall discuss only our present outlook upon these vast affairs, our present duties and the immediate means of accomplishing the objects we shall hold always in view.

I shall not go back to debate the causes of the war. The intolerable wrongs done and planned against us by the sinister masters of Germany have long since become too grossly obvious and odious to every true American to need to be rehearsed. But I shall ask you to consider again and with a very grave scrutiny our objectives and the measures by which we mean to attain them; for the purpose of discussion here in this place is action, and our action must move straight toward definite ends. Our object is, of course, to win the war, and we shall not slacken or suffer ourselves to be diverted until it is won. But it is worth while asking and answering the question, when shall we consider the war won?

From one point of view it is not necessary to broach this fundamental matter. I do not doubt that the American people know what the war is about and what sort of an outcome they will regard as a realization of their purposes in it. As a nation we are united in spirit and intention.

I pay little heed to those who tell me otherwise. I hear the voices of dissent—who does not? I hear the criticism and the clamor of the noisily thoughtless and troublesome. I also see men here and

there fling themselves in impotent disloyalty against the calm, indomitable power of the nation. I hear men debate peace who understand neither its nature nor the way in which we may attain it with uplifted eyes and unbroken spirits. But I know that none of these speaks for the nation. They do not touch the heart of anything. They may safely be left to strut their uneasy hour and be forgotten.

But from another point of view I believe that it is necessary to say plainly what we here at the seat of action consider the war to be for and what part we mean to play in the settlement of its searching issues. We are the spokesmen of the American people and they have a right to know whether their purpose is ours. They desire peace by the overcoming of evil, by the defeat once for all of the sinister forces that interrupt peace and render it impossible, and they wish to know how closely our thought runs with theirs and what action we propose. They are impatient with those who desire peace by any sort of compromise—deeply and indignantly impatient—but they will be equally impatient with us if we do not make it plain to them what our objectives are and what we are planning for in seeking to make conquest of peace by arms.

I believe that I speak for them when I say two things: First, that this intolerable thing of which the masters of Germany have shown us the ugly face; this menace of combined intrigue and force which we now see so clearly as the German power; a thing without conscience or honor or capacity for covenanted peace, must be crushed, and, if it be not utterly brought to an end, at least shut out from the friendly intercourse of the nations; and, second, that when this thing and its power are indeed defeated and the time comes that we can discuss peace—when the German people have spokesmen whose word we can believe and when those spokesmen are ready in the name of their people to accept the common judgment of the nations as to what shall henceforth be the basis of law and of covenant for the life of the world—we shall be willing and glad to pay the full price for peace and pay it ungrudgingly. We know what that price will be. It will be full, impartial justice—justice done at every point and to every nation that the final settlement must affect, our enemies as well as our friends.

You catch, with me, the voices of humanity that are in the air. They grow daily more audible, more articulate, more persuasive, and

they come from the hearts of men everywhere. They insist that the war shall not end in vindictive action of any kind; that no nation or people shall be robbed or punished because the irresponsible rulers of a single country have themselves done deep and abominable wrong. It is this thought that has been expressed in the formula "no annexations, no contributions, no punitive indemnities." Just because this crude formula expresses the instinctive judgment as to the rights of plain men everywhere, it has been made diligent use of by the masters of German intrigue to lead the people of Russia astray—and the people of every other country their agents could reach—in order that a premature peace might be brought about before autocracy has been taught its final and convincing lesson, and the people of the world put in control of their own destinies.

But the fact that a wrong use has been made of a just idea is no reason why a right use should not be made of it. It ought to be brought under the patronage of its real friends. Let it be said again that autocracy must first be shown the utter futility of its claims to power or leadership in the modern world. It is impossible to apply any standard of justice so long as such forces are unchecked and undefeated as the present masters of Germany command. Not until that has been done can Right be set up as arbiter and peacemaker among the nations. But when that has been done—as, God willing, it assuredly will be—we shall at last be free to do an unprecedented thing, and this is the time to avow our purpose to do it. We shall be free to base peace on generosity and justice, to the exclusion of all selfish claims to advantage even on the part of the victors.

Let there be no misunderstanding. Our present and immediate task is to win the war, and nothing shall turn us aside from it until it is accomplished. Every power and resource we possess, whether of men, of money or of materials, is being devoted and will continue to be devoted to that purpose until it is achieved.

Those who desire to bring peace about before that purpose is achieved, I counsel to carry their advice elsewhere. We will not entertain it. We shall regard the war as won only when the German people say to us, through properly accredited representatives, that they are ready to agree to a settlement based upon justice and the reparation of the wrongs their rulers have done. They have done a wrong to Belgium which must be repaired. They have established

a power over other lands and peoples than their own—over the great Empire of Austria-Hungary, over hitherto free Balkan states, over Turkey and within Asia—which must be relinquished.

Germany's success by skill, by industry, by knowledge, by enterprise, we did not grudge or oppose, but admired rather. She had built up for herself a real empire of trade and influence, secured by the peace of the world. We were content to abide the rivalries of manufacture, science and commerce that were involved for us in her success, and to stand or fall according as we had or did not have the brains and the initiative to surpass her. But at the moment when she had conspicuously won her triumphs of peace she threw them away, to establish in their stead what the world will no longer permit to be established, military and political domination by arms, by which to oust where she could not excel the rivals she most feared and hated. The peace we make must remedy that wrong. It must deliver the once fair lands and happy peoples of Belgium and Northern France from the Prussian conquest and the Prussian menace, but it must also deliver the peoples of Austria-Hungary, the peoples of the Balkans and the peoples of Turkey, alike in Europe and in Asia, from the impudent and alien domination of the Prussian military and commercial autocracy.

We owe it, however, to ourselves to say that we do not wish in any way to impair or to rearrange the Austro-Hungarian life, either industrially or politically. We do not purpose or desire to dictate to them in any way. We only desire to see that their affairs are left in their own hands, in all matters, great or small. We shall hope to secure for the peoples of the Balkan peninsula and for the people of the Turkish Empire the right and opportunity to make their own lives safe, their own fortunes secure against oppression or injustice and from the dictation of foreign courts or parties.

And our attitude and purpose with regard to Germany herself are of a like kind. We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs. We should deem either the one or the other absolutely unjustifiable, absolutely contrary to the principles we have professed to live by and to hold most sacred throughout our life as a nation.

The people of Germany are being told by the men whom they now permit to deceive them and to act as their masters that they are fighting for the very life and existence of their empire, a war of desperate

self-defense against deliberate aggression. Nothing could be more grossly or wantonly false, and we must seek by the utmost openness and candor as to our real aims to convince them of its falseness. We are, in fact, fighting for their emancipation from fear, along with our own, from the fear as well as from the fact of unjust attack by neighbors or rivals or schemers after world empire. No one is threatening the existence or the independence or the peaceful enterprise of the German Empire.

The worst that can happen to the detriment of the German people is this, that if they should still, after the war is over, continue to be obliged to live under ambitious and intriguing masters interested to disturb the peace of the world, men or classes of men whom the other peoples of the world could not trust, it might be impossible to admit them to the partnership of nations which must henceforth guarantee the world's peace. That partnership must be a partnership of peoples, not a mere partnership of governments. It might be impossible, also, in such untoward circumstances, to admit Germany to the free economic intercourse which must inevitably spring out of the other partnerships of a real peace. But there would be no aggression in that; and such a situation, inevitable because of distrust, would in the very nature of things sooner or later cure itself by processes which would assuredly set in.

The wrongs, the very deep wrongs, committed in this war will have to be righted. That, of course. But they cannot and must not be righted by the commission of similar wrongs against Germany and her allies. The world will not permit the commission of similar wrongs as a means of reparation and settlement. Statesmen must by this time have learned that the opinion of the world is everywhere wide awake and fully comprehends the issues involved. No representative of any self-governed nation will dare disregard it by attempting any such covenants of selfishness and compromise as were entered into at the Congress of Vienna. The thought of the plain people here and everywhere throughout the world, the people who enjoy no privilege and have very simple and unsophisticated standards of right and wrong, is the air all governments must henceforth breathe if they would live. It is in the full, disclosing light of that thought that all policies must be conceived and executed in this midday hour of the world's life. German rulers have been able to upset the peace of the world only because the

German people were not suffered under their tutelage to share the comradeship of the other peoples of the world, either in thought or in purpose. They were allowed to have no opinion of their own which might be set up as a rule of conduct for those who exercised authority over them. But the congress that concludes this war will feel the full strength of the tides that run now in the hearts and consciences of free men everywhere. Its conclusions will run with these tides.

All these things have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous war; and I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real lasting union of purpose effected. Had they believed these things at the very moment of their revolution, and had they been confirmed in that belief since, the sad reverses which have recently marked the progress of their affairs toward an ordered and stable government of free men might have been avoided. The Russian people have been poisoned by the very same falsehoods that have kept the German people in the dark, and the poison has been administered by the very same hands. The only possible antidote is the truth. It cannot be uttered too plainly or too often.

From every point of view, therefore, it has seemed to be my duty to speak these declarations of purpose, to add these specific interpretations to what I took the liberty of saying to the Senate in January. Our entrance into the war has not altered our attitude toward the settlement that must come when it is over.

When I said in January that the nations of the world were entitled not only to free pathways upon the sea, but also to assured and unmolested access to those pathways, I was thinking, and I am thinking now, not of the smaller and weaker nations alone, which need our countenance and support, but also of the great and powerful nations, and of our present enemies, as well as our present associates in the war. I was thinking, and am thinking now of Austria herself among the rest, as well as of Serbia and of Poland. Justice and equality of rights can be had only at a great price. We are seeking permanent, not temporary, foundations for the peace of the world, and must seek them candidly and fearlessly. As always, the right will prove to be the expedient.

What shall we do, then, to push this great war of freedom and justice to its righteous conclusion? We must clear away with a thorough hand all impediments to success and we must make every adjustment of law that will facilitate the full and free use of our whole capacity and force as a fighting unit.

One very embarrassing obstacle that stands in our way is that we are at war with Germany, but not with her allies. I therefore very earnestly recommend that the Congress immediately declare the United States in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. Does it seem strange to you that this should be the conclusion of the argument I have just addressed to you? It is not. It is, in fact, the inevitable logic of what I have said. Austria-Hungary is for the time being not her own mistress, but simply the vassal of the German government. We must face the facts as they are and act upon them without sentiment in this stern business. The government of Austria-Hungary is not acting upon its own initiative or in response to the wishes and feelings of its own peoples, but as the instrument of another nation. We must meet its force with our own and regard the Central Powers as but one. The war can be successfully conducted in no other way. The same logic would lead also to a declaration of war against Turkey and Bulgaria. They also are the tools of Germany. But they are mere tools, and do not yet stand in the direct path of our necessary action. We shall go wherever the necessities of this war carry us, but it seems to me that we should go only where immediate and practical considerations lead us and not heed any others.

The financial and military measures which must be adopted will suggest themselves as the war and its undertakings develop, but I will take the liberty of proposing to you certain other acts of legislation which seem to me to be needed for the support of the war and for the release of our whole force and energy.

It will be necessary to extend in certain particulars the legislation of the last session with regard to alien enemies; and also necessary, I believe, to create a very definite and particular control over the entrance and departure of all persons into and from the United States.

Legislation should be enacted defining as a criminal offense every willful violation of the Presidential proclamations relating to alien enemies promulgated under Section 4067 of the Revised Statutes,

and providing appropriate punishments; and women as well as men should be included under the terms of the acts placing restraints upon alien enemies. It is likely that as time goes on many alien enemies will be willing to be fed and housed at the expense of the government in the detention camps, and it would be the purpose of the legislation I have suggested to confine offenders among them in penitentiaries and other similar institutions, where they could be made to work, as other criminals do.

Recent experience has convinced me that the Congress must go further in authorizing the government to set limits to prices. The law of supply and demand, I am sorry to say, has been replaced by the law of unrestrained selfishness. While we have eliminated profiteering in several branches of industry it still runs impudently rampant in others. The farmers, for example, complain with a great deal of justice that, while the regulation of food prices restricts their incomes, no restraints are placed upon the prices of most of the things they must themselves purchase; and similar inequalities obtain on all sides.

It is imperatively necessary that the consideration of the full use of the water power of the country, and also the consideration of the systematic and yet economical development of such of the natural resources of the country as are still under the control of the Federal government, should be immediately resumed and affirmatively and constructively dealt with at the earliest possible moment. The pressing need of such legislation is daily becoming more obvious.

The legislation proposed at the last session with regard to regulated combinations among our exporters, in order to provide for our foreign trade a more effective organization and method of co-operation, ought by all means to be completed at this session.

And I beg that the members of the House of Representatives will permit me to express the opinion that it will be impossible to deal in any way but a very wasteful and extravagant fashion with the enormous appropriations of the public moneys which must continue to be made, if the war is to be properly sustained, unless the House will consent to return to its former practice of initiating and preparing all appropriation bills through a single committee, in order that responsibility may be centered, expenditures standardized and made uniform, and waste and duplication as much as possible avoided.



SETTING-UP EXERCISES, SENIOR RESERVE CORPS

Additional legislation may also become necessary before the present Congress adjourns in order to effect the most efficient co-ordination and operation of the railway and other transportation systems of the country; but to that I shall, if circumstances should demand, call the attention of Congress upon another occasion.

If I have overlooked anything that ought to be done for the more effective conduct of the war, your own counsels will supply the omission. What I am perfectly clear about is that in the present session of the Congress our whole attention and energy should be concentrated on the vigorous and rapid and successful prosecution of the great task of winning the war.

We can do this with all the greater zeal and enthusiasm because we know that for us this is a war of high principle, debased by no selfish ambition of conquest or spoliation; because we know, and all the world knows, that we have been forced into it to save the very institutions we live under from corruption and destruction. The purposes of the Central Powers strike straight at the very heart of everything we believe in; their methods of warfare outrage every principle of humanity and of knightly honor; their intrigue has corrupted the very thought and spirit of many of our people; their sinister and secret diplomacy has sought to take our very territory away from us and disrupt the union of the states. Our safety would be at an end, our honor forever sullied and brought into contempt were we to permit their triumph. They are striking at the very existence of democracy and liberty.

It is because it is for us a war of high, disinterested purpose, in which all the free peoples of the world are banded together for the vindication of right, a war for the preservation of our nation and of all that it has held dear of principle and of purpose, that we feel ourselves doubly constrained to propose for its outcome only that which is righteous and of irreproachable intention, for our foes as well as for our friends. The cause being just and holy, the settlement must be of like motive and quality. For this we can fight, but for nothing less noble or less worthy of our traditions. For this cause we entered the war and for this cause will we battle until the last gun is fired.

I have spoken plainly, because this seems to me the time when it is most necessary to speak plainly, in order that all the world may know that even in the heat and ardor of the struggle and when our

whole thought is of carrying the war through to its end we have not forgotten any ideal or principle for which the name of America has been held in honor among the nations and for which it has been our glory to contend in the great generations that went before us. A supreme moment of history has come. The eyes of the people have been opened and they see. The hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.

THE PRESIDENT'S PEACE PROGRAM

[*Editor's Note*:—On January 8, 1918, President Wilson, with but an hour's notice, appeared before Congress and presented a concrete and specific program for world peace. His proposition was so fundamental, so completely based upon universal and unchanging principle, that it left no opportunity for argument to those who might desire to oppose it. He declared the program which he presented to be the voice, the desire, of "the new world in which we now live". Coming at a juncture so acute, it caught the ear of the world, and was given a circulation and a reading more extensive, doubtless, than was ever before accorded to the words of any man. It at once became a controlling factor in shaping the destinies of the nations and of the human race.]

Gentlemen of the Congress:

Once more, as repeatedly before, the spokesmen of the Central Empires have indicated their desire to discuss the objects of the war and the possible basis of a general peace. Parleys have been in progress at Brest-Litovsk between Russian representatives and representatives of the Central Powers to which the attention of all the belligerents has been invited for the purpose of ascertaining whether it may be possible to extend these parleys into a general conference with regard to terms of peace and settlement.

The Russian representatives presented not only a perfectly definite statement of the principles upon which they would be willing to conclude peace, but also an equally definite program of the concrete application of those principles. The representatives of the Central Powers, on their part, presented an outline of settlement which, if much less definite, seemed susceptible of liberal interpretation until their specific program of practical terms was added.

That program proposed no concessions at all either to the sovereignty of Russia or to the preferences of the population with whose fortunes it dealt, but meant, in a word, that the Central Powers were to keep every foot of territory their armed forces had occupied

—every province, every city, every point of vantage—as a permanent addition to their territories and their power.

It is a reasonable conjecture that the general principles of settlement, which they at first suggested, originated with the more liberal statesmen of Germany and Austria, the men who have begun to feel the force of their own peoples' thought and purpose, while the concrete terms of actual settlement came from the military leaders who have no thought but to keep what they have got. The negotiations have been broken off. The Russian representatives were sincere and in earnest. They can not entertain such proposals of conquest and domination.

The whole incident is full of significance. It is also full of perplexity. With whom are the Russian representatives dealing? For whom are the representatives of the Central Empires speaking? Are they speaking for the majorities of their respective parliaments or for the minority parties, that military and imperialistic minority which has so far dominated their whole policy and controlled the affairs of Turkey and of the Balkan states which have felt obliged to become their associates in this war? The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed doors, and all the world has been audience, as was desired.

To whom have we been listening, then? To those who speak the spirit and intention of the resolutions of the German Reichstag of the ninth of July, last, the spirit and intention of the liberal leaders and parties of Germany, or to those who resist and defy that spirit and intention and insist upon conquest and subjugation? Or are we listening, in fact, to both, unreconciled and in open and hopeless contradiction? These are very serious and pregnant questions. Upon the answer to them depends the peace of the world.

But whatever the results of the parleys at Brest-Litovsk, whatever the confusions of counsel and of purpose in the utterances of the spokesmen of the Central Powers, they have again attempted to acquaint the world with their objects in the war and have again challenged their adversaries to say what their objects are and what sort of settlement they would deem just and satisfactory. There is no good reason why that challenge should not be responded to, and

responded to with the utmost candor. We did not wait for it. Not once, but again and again, we have laid our whole thought and purpose before the world, not in general terms only, but each time with sufficient definition to make it clear what sort of definitive terms of settlement must necessarily spring out of them.

Within the last week Mr. Lloyd George has spoken with admirable candor and in admirable spirit for the people and government of Great Britain. There is no confusion of counsel among the adversaries of the Central Powers, no uncertainty of principle, no vagueness of detail. The only secrecy of counsel, the only lack of fearless frankness, the only failure to make definite statement of the objects of the war, lies with Germany and her allies.

The issues of life and death hang upon these definitions. No statesman who has the least conception of his responsibility ought for a moment to permit himself to continue this tragical and appalling outpouring of blood and treasure, unless he is sure beyond a peradventure that the objects of the vital sacrifice are part and parcel of the very life of society and that the people for whom he speaks think them right and imperative as he does.

There is, moreover, a voice calling for these definitions of principle and of purpose which is, it seems to me, more thrilling and more compelling than any of the many moving voices with which the troubled air of the world is filled. It is the voice of the Russian people. They are prostrate and all but helpless, it would seem, before the grim power of Germany, which has hitherto known no relenting and no pity. Their power, apparently, is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind; and they have refused to compound their ideals or desert others that they themselves may be safe.

They call to us to say what it is that we desire, in what, if in anything, our purpose and our spirit differ from theirs; and I believe that the people of the United States would wish me to respond with utter simplicity and frankness. Whether their present leaders believe it or not, it is our heartfelt desire and hope that some way may be opened whereby we may be privileged to assist the people

of Russia to attain their utmost hope of liberty and ordered peace.

It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understandings of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world. It is this happy fact, now clear to the view of every public man whose thoughts do not still linger in an age that is dead and gone, which makes it possible for every nation whose purposes are consistent with justice and the peace of the world to avow now or at any other time the objects it has in view.

We entered this war because violations of right had occurred which touched us to the quick and made the life of our own people impossible unless they were corrected and the world secured once for all against their recurrence. What we demand in this war, therefore, is nothing peculiar to ourselves. It is that the world be made fit and safe to live in; and mainly, that it be made safe for every peace-loving nation, which, like our own, wishes to live its own life, determine its own institutions, be assured of justice and fair dealing by the other peoples of the world, as against force and selfish aggression. All the peoples of the world are in effect partners in this interest and for our own part we see very clearly that unless justice be done to others, it will not be done to us. The program of the world's peace, therefore, is our program, and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest co-operation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored, without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored, and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality.

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Roumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan states to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established

lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guarantees of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan states should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.

XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected, which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike.

In regard to these essential rectifications of wrong and assertions of right we feel ourselves to be intimate partners of all the governments and peoples associated together against the imperialists. We can not be separated in interest or divided in purpose. We stand together until the end.

For such arrangements and covenants we are willing to fight and to continue to fight until they are achieved; but only because we wish the right to prevail and desire a just and stable peace, such as can be secured only by removing the chief provocations to war, which this program does remove. We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.

Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions. But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination.

We have spoken now, surely, in terms too concrete to admit of any further doubt or question. An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of justice to all peoples and nationalities and their right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand.

The people of the United States could act upon no other principle, and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor, and everything that they possess. The moral climax of this, the culminating and final war for human liberty has come, and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.

AFTERWORD

"Where there is no vision the people perish." In the great world war waged in Europe, civilization was subjected to such a strain as it had never before known. Nations trembled on the brink of chaos. For three years, the peoples of the world, burdened with the sacrifices and sorrows of the cruel and relentless strife, had grieved in vain. For what are we fighting? And whither is the way of peace? Only the voice of super-wisdom could answer.

From the beginning, above the storm and clamor, the voice of Woodrow Wilson, ever rising to higher and clearer notes, proclaimed the way of peace, until in this last address he caught the ear of the world, and was everywhere recognized as the Spokesman for Humanity.

The dream of an idealist! Perhaps, but right ideas, right ideals, are omnipotent. No question in mathematics, harmonics, physics, politics, or ethics, is ever settled until it is settled right. Only such a dream could awaken the world from the mad nightmare into which it had fallen. In this way alone lie peace and safety.—*Editor.*



CHAPTER VII

HISTORIC DOCUMENTS

FOREWORD



HERE are certain papers and documents which mark the great epochs in the history of the United States. Every reader and student of the history of the country should be familiar with these very important historic records.

It therefore has been thought well to include certain of these epochal documents in the text of "The Library of American History".

In these stirring latter days interest in our great democratic republic is tremendously aroused and stimulated, both at home and abroad. In these luminous documents will be found the guiding lights and the foundation principles upon which the permanency of the great nation rests.

The United States has been called to a high mission among the nations. The democracy of the United States stands as the ante-type of the world democracy which is to come. As a stream can rise no higher than its source, so a true democracy cannot rise above the level of the citizenship which composes it.

If the United States, therefore, is to stand as the world model of a government "of the people, by the people, for the people", our citizenship must be maintained at the highest standard of intelligence, as well as of patriotism and altruism.

These papers mark the stepping stones by which our country has found its way to freedom, prosperity and happiness.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

*In Congress, July 4, 1776**The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America*

[*Editor's Note:* Readers of this History have found described in their proper chronological place the circumstances which led up to the production of this immortal document. There is, perhaps, no other paper in the archives of the world which has meant so much for human progress and the happiness of the race as this. The principles it expresses are fundamental and eternal, and remain true for all peoples and all time.]

When in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to

alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things

which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

John Penn John Hancock John Adams
Wm. Hoag Samuel Adams
Stephen Hopkins Thos. Mifflin
Thos. Mifflin Charles Carroll of Carroll Md. Elbridge Gerry
Thos. Mifflin Roger Sherman Saml. Huntington
Wm. Whipple Josiah Bartlett Thos. Lynch Junr.
Geo. Taylor Josiah Bartlett Benj. Franklin
Wm. Williams Richd. Stockton John Morton
Oliver Wolcott Jas. Wilson Ne Geo. Ross
Thos. Stone Samuel Chase Robt. Treat Paine
George Wythe Matthew Thornton
Fran. Lewis W. Jefferson Henry Harrison
Lewis Morris Abra. Clark Cesar Rodney
Arthur Middleton Fras. Hopkinson
Geo. Walton Carter Braxton James Wilson
Richard Henry Lee Jas. Heyward Junr.
Benjamin Rush John Adams Robt. Morris
Lyman Hall Joseph Hewes Button Gwinnett
Francis Lightfoot Lee Edward Rutledge Jas. Smith
William Ellery

FAC-SIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES TO THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

New Hampshire—Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay—John Hancock, Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Connecticut—Roger Sherman, Sam'l Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York—Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frans. Lewis, Lewis Morris.

Rhode Island—Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.

New Jersey—Richd. Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania—Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas. Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware—Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland—Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Virginia—George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina—Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina—Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Junr., Thomas Lynch, Junr., Arthur Middleton.

Georgia—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION AND PERPETUAL UNION

Between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia.

[*Editor's Note:* The Articles of Confederation were drawn up by a committee of gentlemen, who were appointed by Congress for this purpose, June 12, 1776, and finally adopted November 15, 1777. The committee were Messrs. Bartlett, Samuel Adams, Hopkins, Sherman, R. R. Livingston, Dickinson, M'Kean, Stone, Nelson, Howes, E. Rutledge, and Gwinnett.]

ARTICLE I

The style of this confederacy shall be "THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA".

ARTICLE II

Each State retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE III

The said States hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare, binding themselves

to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE IV

Section 1.—The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship and intercourse among the people of the different States in this union, the free inhabitants of each of these States—paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice excepted—shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several States; and the people of each State shall have free ingress and egress to and from any other State, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively; provided, that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any State, to any other State, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided, also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any State on the property of the United States, or either of them.

Sec. 2.—If any person, guilty of, or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any State, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon the demand of the Governor or executive power of the State from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the State having jurisdiction of his offence.

Sec. 3.—Full faith and credit shall be given, in each of these States, to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other State.

ARTICLE V

Section 1.—For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each State shall direct, to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November in every year, with a power reserved to each State to recall its delegates, or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead, for the remainder of the year.

Sec. 2.—No State shall be represented in Congress by less than two, nor more than seven members; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years, in any term of six

years; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or any other for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emolument, of any kind.

Sec. 3.—Each State shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the States, and while they act as members of the committee of these States.

Sec. 4.—In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each State shall have one vote.

Sec. 5.—Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress, and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments during the time of their going to and from, and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE VI

Section 1.—No State, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty with any king, prince, or State, nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

Sec. 2.—No two or more States shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into, and how long it shall continue.

Sec. 3.—No State shall lay any imposts or duties which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or State, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

Sec. 4.—No vessels of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any State, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled, for the defence of such State, or its trade; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any State, in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judg-

ment of the United States in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such State; but every State shall always keep up a well-regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and constantly have ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

Sec. 5.—No State shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be actually invaded by enemies, or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such State, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted; nor shall any State grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or State, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such State be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE VII

When land forces are raised by any State for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each State respectively by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such State shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the State which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE VIII

All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several States, in proportion to the value of all land within each State, granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated, according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall, from time to time,

direct and appoint. The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of the legislatures of the several States within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE IX

Section 1.—The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article, of sending and receiving ambassadors; entering into treaties and alliances, provided that no treaty of commerce shall be made, whereby the legislative power of the respective States shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners, as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace; appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas; and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of capture; provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

Sec. 2.—The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting, or that hereafter may arise between two or more States concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following: Whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any State in controversy with another, shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other State in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint, by joint consent, commissioners or judges to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question; but if they can not agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the

petitioners beginning, until the number shall be reduced to thirteen; and from that number not less than seven, nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination: and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present, shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each State, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing; and the judgment and sentence of the court, to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive; and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence, or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive; the judgment or sentence and other proceedings being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress, for the security of the parties concerned: provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the State where the cause shall be tried, "well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward." Provided, also, that no State shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

Sec. 3.—All controversies concerning the private right of soil claimed under different grants of two or more States, whose jurisdiction, as they may respect such lands, and the States which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different States.

Sec. 4.—The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the

respective States; fixing the standard of weights and measures throughout the United States; regulating the trade, and managing all affairs with the Indians, not members of any of the States; provided, that the legislative right of any State, within its own limits, be not infringed or violated; establishing and regulating post offices from one State to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office; appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States, excepting regimental officers; appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States; making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

Sec. 5.—The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated, "*A Committee of the States,*" and to consist of one delegate from each State; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States under their direction; to appoint one of their number to preside; provided, that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years; to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses; to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective States an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted; to build and equip a navy; to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each State for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such State, which requisition shall be binding; and thereupon the legislature of each State shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled; but if the United States in Congress assembled shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any State should not raise men, or should raise a smaller number than its quota, and that any other State should raise a greater number of men than the quota

thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such State, unless the legislature of such State shall judge that such extra number can not be safely spared out of the same, in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared, and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

Sec. 6.—The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States, or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine States assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

Sec. 7.—The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months, and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each State, on any question, shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a State, or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several States.

ARTICLE X

The Committee of the States, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States, in Congress assembled, by the con-

sent of nine States, shall, from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided, that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine States, in the Congress of the United States assembled, is requisite.

ARTICLE XI

Canada, acceding to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into and entitled to all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same, unless such admission be agreed to by nine States.

ARTICLE XII

All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present Confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE XIII

Every State shall abide by the determination of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by this Confederation are submitted to them. And the articles of this Confederation shall be inviolably observed by every State, and the union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them; unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterwards confirmed by the legislature of every State.

And whereas, it hath pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress to approve of, and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, Know ye, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein

contained. And we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, in all questions which by the said Confederation are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the States we respectively represent, and that the union shall be perpetual. In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands in Congress.

Done at Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, the 9th day of July, in the year of our Lord 1778, and in the third year of the Independence of America.

New Hampshire.—Josiah Bartlett, John Wentworth, Jr.

Massachusetts Bay.—John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Elbridge Gerry, Francis Dana, James Lovel, Samuel Holton.

Rhode Island, etc.—William Ellery, Henry Marchant, John Collins.

Connecticut.—Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, Oliver Wolcott, Titus Hosmer, Andrew Adams.

New York.—James Duane, Francis Lewis, William Duer, Gouverneur Morris.

New Jersey.—John Witherspoon, Nath. Scudder.

Pennsylvania.—Robert Morris, Daniel Roberdeau, Jona Bayard Smith, William Clingan, Joseph Reed.

Delaware.—Thomas M'Kean, John Dickinson, Nicholas Van Dyke.

Maryland.—John Hanson, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia.—Richard Henry Lee, John Banister, Thomas Adams, John Harvie, Francis Lightfoot Lee.

North Carolina.—John Penn, Cons. Harnett, John Williams.

South Carolina.—Henry Laurens, Wm. Henry Drayton, John Matthews, Richard Hutson, Thomas Heyward, Jr.

Georgia.—John Walton, Edward Telfair, Edward Langworthy.

The government formed under the foregoing Articles of Confederation, which went into effect on March 1, 1781, was without an executive and judiciary, consisting simply of a congress of one house in which each State had one vote. As it had no power to enforce its laws upon the States, it soon fell into contempt, and on March 4, 1789, expired by limitation under the provisions of the present Constitution.

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

[*Editor's Note:* In the Revolutionary War the United States won independence, but in doing so the new nation passed to the very brink of ruin. Commerce, manufactures, trade, and industry had been destroyed; the currency was worth no more than the flimsy paper upon which the crude design was stamped; the gaunt, ragged soldiers, who tottered to their desolate homes, had not been paid, even in the miserable currency, for many months; thousands of hearthstones were darkened by the shadow which could never be lifted in this life; the future seemed to offer little or no hope, and anarchy and destruction impended.

A common aim and common peril held the States together during the Revolution, and no real authority existed anywhere. All that the Continental Congress could do was to recommend certain specified legislation to the States; the States did as they chose about following the advice and quite often disregarded it altogether. In 1776, each State formed its own government, and on March 1, 1781, adopted the Articles of Confederation. These authorized Congress to declare war, make peace, issue money, and maintain an army, but that body had no power to levy a single tax or enforce a single law. Any company of men can frame laws without limit, but when they have no means of enforcing them, legislation becomes a farce. The Articles of Confederation soon proved to be absolutely worthless.

The States were jealous of one another and all dreaded a strong, central government, without which national existence must come to an end. In their desperation some of the States began issuing paper money, as if the mere printing of promises to pay, gave any real value to such slips of paper. Rhode Island prescribed severe penalties for all who refused to accept such stuff in payment of debts. The merchants were defiant, and throughout the summer of 1786, the State was a vast, silent workshop, where all business was dead. Massachusetts, having defeated the proposed paper money law, Daniel Shays, who had been a Captain in the Continental army, placed himself at the head of two thousand indignant farmers, dispersed the supreme court sitting at Springfield, attacked the arsenal, and demanded the abolishment of taxes and a general issuance of paper money. Congress sent a strong military force to the disaffected section, and the revolt was suppressed after slight bloodshed.

These and other acts of disorder roused the thoughtful people of the country to the gravity of the danger which threatened the national existence. Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Jefferson, and other able patriots gave many anxious hours to a consideration of the great problem. Virginia, in January, 1786, had invited commissioners from all the States to meet at Annapolis in September to consider the necessary legislation regarding trade. Only five States sent commissioners. They, however, adopted an address, urging all the States to name new commissioners to meet in Philadelphia in the following May, to consider, not only the commercial situation, but to "devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union".

It was a notable body of men that came together in the same room in Independence Hall, where the immortal Declaration of Independence had been signed. Washington was the presiding officer, and among the members were Franklin, Madison, Randolph, Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution, Gouverneur Morris, author of our decimal coinage, and others of great ability. The masterful personality of Washington did more than anything else to bring the deliberations of the convention to a successful issue. There was seemingly no end to the conflicting views, and time and again the convention was on the eve of hopeless adjournment. But, slowly and carefully the great work was forged into definite form, and at the end of four months, was evolved the Constitution of the United

States, one of the wisest and most statesmanlike systems of government ever framed by the wisdom of man.

The Federal Convention which framed the Constitution met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, and completed its work September 17th. The number of delegates chosen to the convention was sixty-five; ten did not attend; sixteen declined signing the Constitution, or left the convention before it was ready to be signed; thirty-nine signed.

Twelve States were represented in the Constitutional Convention, Rhode Island being the only one that refused to send delegates. The Constitution was signed September 17, 1787, with the provision that it should go into effect March 4, 1789, if ratified by nine States. The Constitution was ratified by the thirteen original States in the following order:

Delaware, December 7, 1787, unanimously.
Pennsylvania, December 12, 1787, vote 46 to 23.
New Jersey, December 18, 1787, unanimously.
Georgia, January 2, 1788, unanimously.
Connecticut, January 9, 1788, vote 128 to 40.
Massachusetts, February 6, 1788, vote 187 to 168.
Maryland, April 28, 1788, vote 63 to 12.
South Carolina, May 23, 1788, vote 149 to 73.
New Hampshire, June 21, 1788, vote 57 to 46.
Virginia, June 25, 1788, vote 89 to 79.
New York, July 26, 1788, vote 30 to 28.
North Carolina, November 21, 1789, vote 193 to 75.
Rhode Island, May 29, 1790, vote 34 to 32.]

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section II.—The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according

to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of *New Hampshire* shall be entitled to choose three, *Massachusetts* eight, *Rhode Island and Providence Plantations* one, *Connecticut* five, *New York* six, *New Jersey* four, *Pennsylvania* eight, *Delaware* one, *Maryland* six, *Virginia* ten, *North Carolina* five, *South Carolina* five, and *Georgia* three.

When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section III.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class, at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class, at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President

pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section IV.—The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section V.—Each house shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each house may provide.

Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy, and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

Section VI.—The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law and paid

out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

Section VII.—All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approves he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that house it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each house respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

Section VIII.—The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

To regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

To establish post-offices and post-roads;

To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations;

To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

To provide and maintain a navy;

To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by session of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over

all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section IX.—The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

No money shall be drawn from the Treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

Section X.—No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts

or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section I.—The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives, to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

[The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State

having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly until the disability be removed or a President shall be elected.

The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he may have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States or any of them.

Before he enter on the execution of his office he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section II.—The President shall be Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject

relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section IV.—The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States shall be removed from office on impeachment for and conviction of treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

Section I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section II.—The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United

States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State; between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens, or subjects.

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be a party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before-mentioned the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section III.—Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

Section I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section II.—The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State,

shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section III.—New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States or of any particular State.

Section IV.—The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which in either case shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress, provided that no amendments which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the confederation.

This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Senators and Representatives beforementioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

George Washington, President, and Deputy from Virginia.

New Hampshire—John Langdon, Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham, Rufus King.

Connecticut—William Samuel Johnson, Roger Sherman.

New York—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey—William Livingston, David Brearly, William Patterson, Jonathan Dayton.

Pennsylvania—Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, George Clymer, Thomas Fitzsimons, Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, Gouverneur Morris.

Delaware—George Read, Gunning Bedford, Jr., John Dickinson, Richard Bassett, Jacob Broom.

Maryland—James McHenry, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, Daniel Carroll.

Virginia—John Blair, James Madison, Jr.

North Carolina—William Blount, Richard Dobbs Spaight, Hugh Williamson.

South Carolina—John Rutledge, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Charles Pinckney, Pierce Butler.

Georgia—William Few, Abraham Baldwin.

Attest: William Jackson, *Secretary*.

THE AMENDMENTS

[*Editor's Note:* The first ten of the amendments were declared in force December 15, 1791.

XI.—Was declared in force January 8, 1793.

XII.—Regulating elections, was ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, which rejected it. It was declared in force September 28, 1804.

XIII.—The emancipation amendment was ratified by 31 of the 36 States; rejected by Delaware and Kentucky, not acted on by Texas; conditionally ratified by Alabama and Mississippi. Proclaimed December 18, 1865.

XIV.—Reconstruction amendment was ratified by 23 Northern States; rejected by Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, and 10 Southern States, and not acted on by California. The 10 Southern States subsequently ratified under pressure. Proclaimed July 28, 1868.

XV.—Negro citizenship amendment was not acted on by Tennessee, rejected by California, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, New Jersey, and Oregon; ratified by the remaining 30 States. New York rescinded its ratification January 5, 1870. Proclaimed March 30, 1870.

XVI.—Income tax amendment was ratified by all the States except Connecticut, Florida, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah and Virginia. Declared in force February 25, 1913.

XVII.—Providing for the direct vote for United States Senators by the people, was ratified by all the States except Alabama, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah and Virginia. Declared in force May 31, 1913.]

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well-regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital or other infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII

The electors shall meet in their respective States and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each; which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March

next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President.

The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

Section I.—Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section II.—Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

Section I.—All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section II.—Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein

shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section III.—No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two-thirds of each house, remove such disability.

Section IV.—The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section V.—The Congress shall have power to enforce by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

Section I.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section II.—The Congress shall have power to enforce the provisions of this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

Section I.—The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors

in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

Section II.—When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

Section III.—This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

Section I.—After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section II.—The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section III.—This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

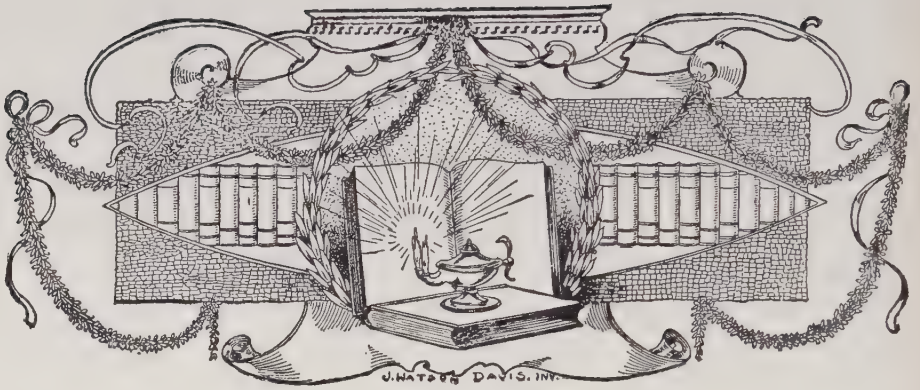
[Editor's Note: Congress on the 3rd day of December, 1917, passed the original resolution calling for action by the legislatures of the several states. It was officially certified on January 29, 1919, that the states had ratified this amendment. By the language of the amendment itself about one year later or January 16, 1920, this amendment went into effect.]

ARTICLE XIX

Section I.—The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Section II.—Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article.

[Editor's Note: Congress on the 19th day of May, 1919, passed the original resolution calling for action by the legislatures of the several states. It was officially certified on August 26, 1920, that the states had ratified this amendment.]



WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

[*Editor's Note:* This farewell address of Washington justly ranks as one of the great American classics. It was delivered to the American people in 1797 upon the completion of his second term as President. His declination to accept a third term has become one of the unwritten canons of American law which no succeeding President has dared to attempt to violate. The address contains so much of the wisdom of warning and prophecy that it has ever stood as a guide-book for American statesmanship. Owing to the limitations of the present volume only extracts can be presented here.]

A solicitude for your welfare, which can not end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all-important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motives to bias his counsel.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquillity at home, your peace abroad, of your safety, of your prosperity, of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken

in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point of your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively—though often covertly and insidiously—directed, it is of infinite moment that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity, watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens, by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint councils and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings, and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of your country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry. The South, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes in different ways to nourish and increase the general mass of the

national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find, a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort, and, what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interests as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While, then, every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined can not fail to find, in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government, which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence, likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which, under any form of government, are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the

respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as a matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by geographical discriminations—Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western—whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You can not shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart-burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection.

To the efficacy and permanence of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliance, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay by the adoption of a Constitution of Government better calculated than your former one for an intimate union and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter the Constitution of Government. But the Constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacred and obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes

the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of a party—often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans, digested by common councils and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterward the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the States, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you, in the most solemn manner, against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed. But in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissensions, which, in different ages and countries, has perpetuated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more for-

fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which, nevertheless, ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channel of party passion. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties, in free countries, are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and, in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every statutory purpose. And, there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the destinies of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connection with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to

the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect that natural morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles.

It is substantially true that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed, extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear.

The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives; but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment, inseparable from the selection of the proper objects—which is always the choice of difficulties—ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel

example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt, in the course of time and things, that fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages that might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

The great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Harmony and a liberal intercourse with all nations are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying, by gentle means, the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be, from time to time, abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character that, by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish—that they will control the usual

current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good—that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit; to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigues; to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism—this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidence of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

Though, in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am, nevertheless, too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence, and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this, as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love toward it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations, I anticipate with pleasing expectations that retreat in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow-citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—that ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors, and dangers.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

[*Editor's Note:* The brief extract here given is from the message of President James Monroe to Congress, December, 1823. In these few simple words the President gave expression to a policy forced upon the new nation by the circumstances of her situation. It marks the first seeming departure, as indicated in the first paragraph, from the policy of avoiding all entanglements with European nations, set forth so earnestly by Washington in his farewell address, and so closely followed up to this time.

This policy, thus enunciated in simple phrase by President Monroe, was faithfully observed in letter and in spirit until, in 1917, the United States was compelled in self-defense to take up arms against the threatening aggressions of the Prussian Powers of Europe. The war with Spain (1898) was in strict accord with the Monroe Doctrine, since it was in opposition to Spanish aggression and oppression in Cuba—American territory, though an island.]

In the wars of the European Powers in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced, that we resent injuries, or make preparations for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere, we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments; and to the defense of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted.

We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those European Powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.

With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European Power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States.

THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

[*Editor's Note:* If the Emancipation Proclamation is to be regarded as *the cause* of the freedom of the African race in the United States, then indeed must it be considered as among the most important documents known in history: perhaps the most important of all. The President himself and the chief supporters of his administration had for years made no concealment of their desire that all men everywhere should be free. *The occasion* was at hand. Mr. Lincoln seized and generalized the facts, embodied them in his own words, and became for all time the oracle and interpreter of *National Necessity*.]

Whereas, on the twenty-second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, a Proclamation was issued by the President of the United States, containing among other things the following, to-wit:

"That on the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any State, or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforth and forever free, and the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authority thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of such persons, and will do no act or acts to repress such persons, or any of them, in any efforts they may make for their actual freedom."

"That the executive will, on the first day of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate the States and parts of States, if any, in which the people thereof respectively shall then be in rebellion against the United States, and the fact that any State or the people thereof, shall on that day be in good faith represented in the Congress of the United States by members chosen thereto at elections wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such State shall have participated, shall, in the absence of strong counter-vailing testimony, be deemed conclusive evidence that such State and the people thereof are not then in rebellion against the United States."

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me vested as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority and government of the United States, and as a fit and necessary war measure for suppressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the day the first above mentioned, order and designate, as the

States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana (except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Ann, and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth), and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this Proclamation were not issued.

And by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States and parts of States are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free, to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defense, and I recommend to them that in all cases, when allowed, they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

And I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my name, and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done at the City of Washington, this first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, and of the Independence of the United States the eighty-seventh.

By the President:

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

William H. Seward,
Secretary of State.

LINCOLN'S GETTYSBURG ADDRESS

[*Editor's Note:* This immortal address of 267 words was delivered by President Lincoln at the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 12, 1863. It is related that President Lincoln was too much occupied with many pressing matters to find time to prepare any formal address for the occasion. Instead, he jotted these few words down while on the train on his way to the battlefield. Spoken at the ceremonies, modestly and inconspicuously, they attracted no great attention at the time, and had no particular prominence in the current newspaper reports. But their deep force and strength were soon recognized, and won for the brief oration a place in the front ranks of American classics.]

An elaborate address for the occasion, prepared and delivered by one of the nation's noted orators, has long since been forgotten, while these simple words of the immortal Lincoln have become a classic wherever the English language is spoken.]

Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting-place for those who here gave their lives that that nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this.

But, in a large sense, we can not dedicate, we can not consecrate, we can not hallow, this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us—that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion; that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain; that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS

[*Editor's Note:* In this immortal document of less than 700 words, President Lincoln enunciated in his own peculiarly simple and lofty phrase, the high ideal and the magnanimous sentiment which guided him. "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness for the right as God gives us to see the right," is the clarion and persuasive call he has passed down to future generations, inspiring to a nobility equal to his own. The London *Spectator* pronounced this message "the noblest political document known to history".]

Fellow Countrymen:

At this second appearing to take the oath of the presidential office there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then a statement somewhat in detail of a course to be pursued seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented. The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it, all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive, and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by the war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it. Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with

or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding. Both read the same Bible and pray to the same God, and each invokes His aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces, but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has His own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses; for it must needs be that offenses come, but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of those offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through His appointed time, He now wills to remove, and that He gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to Him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said "the judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether".

With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds, to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for his widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE GREAT WAR

1914

- June 28.—Archduke Francis Ferdinand assassinated.
- July 23.—Presentation of Austro-Hungarian note to Serbia.
- July 28.—War declared on Serbia by Austria-Hungary.
- July 30.—Partial mobilization of Russian army. Belgrade bombarded by Austria-Hungary.
- July 31.—General mobilization of Russian army ordered. State of war declared in Germany.
- Aug. 1.—War declared on Russia by Germany. Luxemburg invaded by Germany. French cabinet orders general mobilization.
- Aug. 2.—German troops enter France. German ultimatum to Belgium demanding free passage for her troops. Russian troops enter Germany.
- Aug. 4.—Ultimatum sent by Great Britain to Germany demanding an assurance that the neutrality of Belgium shall be respected. Germans attack Liege. Mobilization of the British army. Germany declared war on both Belgium and France. Great Britain declared war on Germany. Mobilization of Turkish army. President Wilson issues proclamation of neutrality.
- Aug. 5.—Lord Kitchener appointed British Minister of War. German mine-layer *Koenigen Luise* destroyed. First installment of British expeditionary force landed on French coast. President Wilson tenders his good offices to the warring nations.
- Aug. 6.—Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia.
- Aug. 7.—Mobile Belgian military force withdrew from Liege, leaving forts occupied by their permanent garrisons.
- Aug. 8.—French advance into Alsace, occupying Altkirch. Italy reaffirms neutrality.
- Aug. 9.—German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* took refuge in the Bosphorus. French occupy Muelhausen.

1914

- Aug. 10.—France declares war on Austria-Hungary.
- Aug. 12.—England declares war on Austria-Hungary. Sale of German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau* to Turkey announced.
- Aug. 14.—Mobilization of French army completed and announced as being in touch with the Belgians. Allies protested to Turkey against purchasing and taking over the German warships *Goeben* and *Breslau*.
- Aug. 15.—Japanese issue ultimatum to Germany demanding evacuation of Kiauchau. Russia issues proclamation promising reconstitution and autonomy of the Kingdom of Poland.
- Aug. 16.—Landing of British expeditionary force on coast of France completed. Russian advance on Germany begun.
- Aug. 17.—Belgian Government removed from Brussels to Antwerp. Beginning of a five days' battle in Lorraine, ending in repulse of French across frontier with heavy loss. Beginning of five days' battle between Serbians and Austrians on the Jadar, ending in Austrian rout.
- Aug. 20.—Brussels occupied by Germans. Belgian army retreats to Antwerp. French reverses in Alsace.
- Aug. 23.—Germans enter Namur and begin attack on Mons. Japan declares war on Germany, blockades and commences bombardment of Tsingtau. Germans destroy three of Namur forts.
- Aug. 24.—Fall of Namur announced.
- Aug. 25.—Louvain destroyed by Germans. German *Zeppelin* drops bombs on Antwerp. Muelhausen evacuated by French.
- Aug. 26.—Non-partisan French cabinet organized. Germans take Longwy.
- Aug. 28.—British fleet sinks five German warships off Helgoland.
- Sept. 2.—Russians defeat Austrians at Lemberg after seven days continuous fighting.

1914

- Sept. 3.—French Government removed from Paris to Bordeaux.
- Sept. 5.—Great Britain, France and Russia agree not to treat for peace separately. Rheims taken by Germans.
- Sept. 7.—Germans reach extreme point of their advance in first invasion of France, and begin retreat.
- Sept. 12.—German retreat halts on Aisne.
- Sept. 14.—British auxiliary cruiser *Carmania* sinks German armed cruiser *Cap Trafalgar* off east coast of South America.
- Sept. 16.—Russians retire from East Prussia.
- Sept. 20.—Bombardment of Rheims Cathedral by Germans. British cruiser *Pegasus* completely disabled while at anchor in Zanzibar Harbor by German cruiser *Koenigsberg*.
- Sept. 22.—British cruisers *Aboukir*, *Hogue* and *Cressy* sunk by German submarine in North Sea.
- Sept. 28.—Germans bombard Antwerp's first line of defense.
- Oct. 5.—Belgian Government removed from Antwerp to Ostend.
- Oct. 7.—Japanese seize Caroline Islands.
- Oct. 9.—Germans occupy Antwerp.
- Oct. 11.—German advance in Poland threatens Warsaw.
- Oct. 12.—Martial law declared throughout Union of South Africa on account of mutinies by Boer leaders.
- Oct. 13.—Belgian Government removed from Ostend to Havre.
- Oct. 15.—Ostend occupied by Germans.
- Oct. 16.—British cruiser *Hawke* sunk by German submarine.
- Oct. 17.—Japanese cruiser *Takachiho* sunk by torpedo in Kiauchau Bay.
- Oct. 18.—Belgian army effects junction with allied left. Beginning of battle from Channel coast to Lisle.
- Oct. 24.—Ten days' battle before Warsaw ends in German defeat.
- Oct. 27.—The *Audacious*, one of the new British dreadnoughts, sunk by a mine off the Irish coast.
- Oct. 29.—Turkey begins war on Russia by naval attacks on Black Sea ports.

1914

- Nov. 1.—German squadron defeated British squadron off Coronel, Chili.
- Nov. 5.—England and France declare war on Turkey. Dardanelles forts bombarded.
- Nov. 6.—Kiauchau surrenders to Japanese.
- Nov. 11.—Germans cross Yser Canal and capture Dixmude.
- Nov. 13.—Russians seize Tarnow, Krosno, and Jaslo.
- Nov. 18.—Officially reported that a launch of U. S. S. *Tennessee* was fired on in harbor of Smyrna, Turkey.
- Nov. 21.—Russians capture Gumbinnen.
- Nov. 22.—Turks gain victory over British near Port Said, east of the Suez Canal.
- Nov. 23.—Beginning of second Battle of Ypres in the Argonne.
- Nov. 24.—Russian victory concludes ten-day battle in Poland.
- Nov. 25.—British steamer *Malachite* sunk near Havre by German submarine.
- Nov. 26.—British predreadnought *Bulwark* blown up in the Thames.
- Nov. 27.—French gain strongholds along line from the Channel to Muehlhausen. Bombardment of Rheims effected.
- Nov. 29.—Important positions captured by Allies near Ypres. Russians seize Czernowitz.
- Nov. 30.—Capture of Belgrade by Austrians ends 126-day siege.
- Dec. 3.—Germans take offensive position between Ypres and Dixmude.
- Dec. 5.—Allies successfully resist the German attack at Ypres.
- Dec. 6.—Germans capture Lodz and threaten Warsaw.
- Dec. 8.—British battleship squadron meets and destroys four German cruisers off Falkland Islands. Only one German cruiser escapes and this is pursued by the British fleet. British force captures Kurna in Turkey.
- Dec. 10.—Von Moltke is succeeded by von Falkenhayn as head of the German General Staff.
- Dec. 12.—Austrians repulsed by Serbians at Kosmai.

1914

- Dec. 13.—British submarine sinks Turkish battleship *Masudieh* in the Dardanelles.
 Dec. 14.—Serbians recapture Belgrade. Austrians capture 9,000 Russians at Dukla in the Carpathians.
 Dec. 16.—The English coast towns Scarborough, Hartlepool, and Whitby are bombarded by a German squadron.
 Dec. 17.—England declares protectorate over Egypt; end of Turkish suzerainty.
 Dec. 18.—Germans seize Lowicz.
 Dec. 19.—Battle on the Bzura halts Germans thirty miles from Warsaw.
 Dec. 20.—Interior forts of the Dardanelles are bombarded by allied fleets. Germans advance farther toward Warsaw.
 Dec. 21.—Russians win in Armenia.
 Dec. 22.—German strongholds along Belgian coast shelled by allied fleets.
 Dec. 23.—Austrians defeated in Carpathians.
 Dec. 25.—British cruisers accompanied by hydro-aeroplanes attack German naval base at Cuxhaven.
 Dec. 30.—Germans withdraw over the Bzura.

1915

- Jan. 1.—British battleship *Formidable* is torpedoed and sunk in the English Channel with severe loss.
 Jan. 4.—French troops capture Steinbach in Alsace. Russians are victorious at Ardahan and Sarikamysh.
 Jan. 7.—President of France issues decree prohibiting the sale and transportation of intoxicating liquors.
 Jan. 9.—Germans recapture Steinbach and Burnhaupt.
 Jan. 10.—Thirty bombs thrown by German aeroplanes on Dunkirk.
 Jan. 13.—Baron Burian, a Hungarian, succeeds Count Berchtold as Premier of Austria-Hungary.
 Jan. 14.—Germans win victory north of Soissons, forcing the French retreat across the Aisne.
 Jan. 15.—Kirlibaba Pass taken by the Russians.

1915

- Jan. 16.—Turkish mine sinks French submarine *Saphir* in the Dardanelles.
 Jan. 18.—La Bassee, center of fierce fighting, victories alternating. The French advance within ten miles of Metz.
 Jan. 19.—German airships raid English towns on Norfolk coast.
 Jan. 24.—German squadron is defeated by British coast patrol in second attempt to raid the English coast. German cruiser *Bluecher* sunk.
 Jan. 27.—Austrians recapture Uzsok Pass.
 Jan. 28.—French defeated at Craonne.
 Jan. 30.—Russians win Tabriz in victory over Turks.
 Feb. 1.—Germans recapture Borjimow, driving the Russians back upon Warsaw.
 Feb. 2.—The four outer forts of the Dardanelles are shelled by British and French fleets.
 Feb. 4.—Germany declares waters surrounding the British Isles, except a passage north of Scotland, to be a war zone after Feb. 18.
 Feb. 6.—The *Lusitania* flies American flag in the "danger zone" under British protection.
 Feb. 9.—Russians repel heavy attack of the Germans in the Carpathians.
 Feb. 10.—U. S. Government protests against Germany's "war zone" decree.
 Feb. 12.—Belgian coast seaports raided by thirty-four British aircraft.
 Feb. 14.—German troops occupy Plock.
 Feb. 16.—Forty British aviators again attack Belgium. Italy and Holland protest against "war zone" decree.
 Feb. 18.—Germany declares "war zone" decree to be in effect.
 Feb. 19.—Great Britain suspends passenger travel between England and the Continent.
 Feb. 20.—American cotton-ship *Evelyn* is sunk by mine off coast of Holland.
 Feb. 23.—American steamer *Carib* is sunk off the German coast.
 Feb. 24.—Germans capture Przasnysz north by west of Warsaw.

1915

- Feb. 25.—Allied fleet silences all forts at entrance to the Dardanelles.
- Feb. 27.—Russians recapture Przasnysz.
- Mar. 2.—Russians occupy Dukla Pass.
- Mar. 5.—Continued bombardment of the Dardanelles silences three more forts on the Asiatic side.
- Mar. 9.—Three British merchantmen sunk by German submarines.
- Mar. 11.—British take Neuve Chapelle and advance toward Lisle.
- Mar. 14.—Three British warships sink the German cruiser *Dresden* near Juan Fernandez Island.
- Mar. 15.—French capture trenches in vicinity of Arras.
- Mar. 18.—British battleships *Irresistible* and *Ocean* and the French battleship *Bouvet* are sunk in the Dardanelles. The British *Inflexible* and French *Gaulois* are damaged.
- Mar. 22.—Przemysl is surrendered to the Russians.
- Mar. 23.—Lupkow Pass is won by the Russians.
- Mar. 28.—British-African passenger-ship *Falaba* is sunk by a German submarine in St. George's Channel.
- Apr. 1.—Germans begin attacks on English fishing fleets.
- Apr. 2.—British battleship *Lord Nelson* is destroyed in the Dardanelles.
- Apr. 3.—Allied fleet withdraws from the Dardanelles.
- Apr. 4.—Russian army wins Smolnik near Lupkow Pass.
- Apr. 5.—Russians capture Varecze Pass in the Carpathians.
- Apr. 7.—Germans surrender Les Eparges to the French.
- Apr. 11.—Russian army encamps within eighteen miles of the Hungarian border.
- Apr. 14.—Fierce fighting rages at "Hill 60" in the vicinity of Ypres.
- Apr. 17.—Russians withdraw from Tarnow in Galicia.
- Apr. 19.—Germans gain in the struggle near Ypres.

1915

- Apr. 20.—British defeat the Turks in Mesopotamia. Relations between Austria and Italy become strained. Germans begin to evacuate Italy.
- Apr. 23.—Attack by the Allies is resumed in the Dardanelles.
- Apr. 26.—Russians suffer losses at Uzsok Pass.
- Apr. 26.—Germans, reinforced, repulse French north of Ypres, offsetting loss at Neuve Chapelle.
- Apr. 28.—English and French ships suffer severe loss in the Dardanelles. The Allies establish armies on the peninsula of Gallipoli.
- Apr. 29.—Germans cut the Libau-Kovno railroad in Russia.
- Apr. 30.—Germans shell Dunkirk from distance of 20 miles.
- May 1.—American oil-steamer *Cushing* wrecked by German aeroplane in the North Sea. American steamer *Gulflight* sunk by German submarine.
- May 2.—Austrians gain heavy victory over the Russians in Tarnow.
- May 5.—British lose "Hill 60" near Ypres.
- May 7.—The *Lusitania* is sunk by German submarine off Kinsale, Ireland, with a loss of 1198 lives of which 120 were Americans.
- May 13.—President Wilson sends *Lusitania* protest to Germany.
- May 16.—British battleship *Goliath* sunk in the Dardanelles.
- May 18.—German trenches captured south of Richebourg.
- May 19.—Reorganization of English cabinet.
- May 22.—Italy declares a 'State of War'. Troops clash on the frontier.
- May 23.—French gain north of Arras.
- May 24.—Italy declares war on Austria.
- May 26.—Ex-Premier Balfour succeeds Winston Churchill as First Lord of the Admiralty.
- May 27.—British battleship *Triumph* is torpedoed in the Dardanelles.
- May 28.—British auxiliary vessel *Princess Irene* is blown up at the mouth of the Thames, loss of 424 lives.

1915

- May 29.—Germany's reply to U. S. note suggests arbitration. British shells sink Zeppelin in North Sea.
- May 30.—Italians force way to Trieste, and capture town of Ala.
- June 1.—Zeppelin airships drop ninety bombs at the mouth of the Thames.
- June 3.—Italians reduce fort near Trent. San Marino Republic (smallest independent government in the world) declares war. Przemyśl retaken by Austro-German troops.
- June 7.—Secretary of State Bryan resigns.
- June 8.—Italians occupy Monfalcone.
- June 11.—President Wilson's second *Lusitania* note to Germany made public.
- June 13.—Gen. Mackensen breaks Russian line east of Przemyśl. Venizelos wins in Greek elections.
- June 22.—Austro-Germans recapture Lemberg.
- July 7.—Italian armored cruiser *Amalfi* sunk by Austrian submarines.
- July 8.—Germany's reply to second United States note regarding *Lusitania* handed to American ambassador at Berlin. Last German forces in South Africa surrender to Gen. Botha. Russians surprise Austrians under Archduke Joseph Ferdinand and capture 15,000.
- July 15.—200,000 Welsh miners strike. Germans capture Przasnysz.
- July 22.—President Wilson sends third *Lusitania* note to Germany.
- July 31.—Austrians occupy Lublin.
- Aug. 1.—Teutonic forces advancing steadily on Warsaw.
- Aug. 4.—British notes on blockade made public.
- Aug. 5.—Germans occupy Warsaw and Ivangorod.
- Aug. 7.—The Allies land a new army on Gallipoli peninsula.
- Aug. 9.—British forces gain slight success in vicinity of Ypres.
- Aug. 12.—The Germans take Siedlce, east of Warsaw.

1915

- Aug. 14.—The British transport *Royal Edward* is sunk by a submarine in the Aegean Sea with a loss of over a thousand lives.
- Aug. 17.—The Germans occupy the city of Kovno. Zeppelins again raid the suburbs of London.
- Aug. 19.—The trans-atlantic liner *Arabic* is torpedoed and sunk off Fastnet; several American lives lost. The Germans occupy Novo Georgievsk.
- Aug. 21.—German naval forces suffer defeat by Russian ships in an attack on Gulf of Riga.
- Aug. 26.—German offensive movement continues successful with the occupation of Brest-Litovsk.
- Aug. 28.—The German ambassador to the United States, Count Von Bernstorff, requests delay of action on part of this government in the *Arabic* case and promises full satisfaction.
- Sept. 1.—Germany gives virtual acceptance of the American contentions on submarine warfare.
- Sept. 2.—German forces take Grodno.
- Sept. 4.—Allan liner *Hesperian* sunk off Fastnet.
- Sept. 7.—Grand Duke Nicholas is relieved of supreme command of Russian forces, the Czar assuming direct command in his stead.
- Sept. 8.—The Russians assume the offensive in Galicia and score slight success. The Germans in a new offensive in the Argonne district of France, gain over a mile of French trenches.
- Sept. 9.—The recall of the Austrian ambassador, Dr. Constantin Dumba, is demanded by President Wilson. Germany delivers note to United States justifying the sinking of the *Arabic*.
- Sept. 10.—A financial commission, sent to the United States by England and France, lands in New York.
- Sept. 15.—The Teutonic forces occupy Pinsk.
- Sept. 18.—The German advance in Russia continues and city of Vilna is taken.

1915

- Sept. 19.—Austro-German forces begin a bombardment of the Serbian frontier, preparatory to their announced intention of invading Serbia and opening a road to Turkey.
- Sept. 24.—Greece orders the mobilization of all forces.
- Sept. 25.—The long-heralded Anglo-French drive commences in the Champagne district and in vicinity of Lens. The first few days of offensive movement nets about 50 square miles of territory, many prisoners and considerable war munitions.
- Sept. 27.—Kut-el-Amara, Turkey in Asia, captured by British under General Townshend.
- Sept. 28. England pledges armed support to all Balkan countries who will join the Allies.
- Sept. 30.—The French make additional gains in the Champagne district.
- Oct. 3.—The Allies land troops at Saloniki, Greece, with the view of aiding Serbian resistance against the Teutons.
- Oct. 4.—Russia sends ultimatum to Bulgaria demanding answer in 24 hours.
- Oct. 5.—Ambassador Von Bernstorff delivers note to United States, disavowing the sinking of the *Arabic* and agreeing to give reparation.
- Oct. 6.—The Greek Premier Venizelos resigns from the cabinet. Austro-German forces invade Serbia, while Bulgaria formally rejects the ultimatum of Russia. Allied forces commence advance into Serbia. French gain slight success in Champagne. King Constantine of Greece appoints Zaimis as Premier to succeed Venizelos.
- Oct. 7.—The Bulgarian port of Varna, on the Black Sea, is bombarded by Russian cruisers.
- Oct. 9.—The Austro-German forces capture Belgrade after a severe bombardment of several days. Bulgaria protests to Greece against landing of Allied troops at Saloniki.

1915

- Oct. 10.—German attacks in vicinity of Loos repulsed with heavy losses. Russians driven back in Galicia.
- Oct. 11.—The Teutonic invasion of Serbia progresses and town of Smedereva is taken. Russian forces gain success over Austrians on Stripa River. Germans capture five miles of trenches from Russians west of Dvinsk. French gain ground in Champagne.
- Oct. 12.—Austro-Germans advance south of Belgrade on line of Orient railway. Edith Cavel, English nurse, is executed by Germans on charge of aiding British and Belgians to escape from Belgium.
- Oct. 13.—Bulgarian army invades Serbia at three points. Greece announces position for present to be one of armed neutrality.
- Oct. 14.—French Foreign Minister Delcassé resigns from Cabinet. Austro-Germans advance to Posarevatz, Serbia. Greece renounces treaty with Serbia. Zeppelin raid over London results in deaths of 55 persons. British submarines in Baltic Sea sink six German merchant ships.
- Oct. 16.—Great Britain declares war on Bulgaria. Serbia declares war on Bulgaria. Russians continue offensive at Dvinsk.
- Oct. 18.—Allies land troops at Enos, in Turkish territory. Allies take Strumitza, Bulgaria. Bulgars and Teutons making important advances in Serbia.
- Oct. 19.—Italy declares war on Bulgaria. Bulgarians take Vrania. Allies repulse several German attacks in France. Germans take Duona. General Sir Ian Hamilton is recalled from the Dardanelles. Sir Edward Carson resigns from the British cabinet.
- Oct. 20.—Serbian capital transferred from Nish to Prisrend. Bulgarians and Teutons make further gains in Serbia. Italy resumes strong offensive against Austria.
- Oct. 22.—Serbians reported in serious plight. Bulgars take Komanova. French defeat attacks on west front. Teutons nearing Riga.

1915

- Oct. 23.—Italian squadron helps Allies bombard Bulgarian port of Dedeagatch on Aegean Sea. Italian land forces resume strong offensive against Austro-Hungarian lines.
- Oct. 24.—Italians gain on entire front. Russian naval forces bombard Courland coast.
- Oct. 25.—Germans lose stronghold of "La Courtine" in Champagne. Germans advance in Serbia. Allied forces meet Bulgars in southern Serbia. German cruiser *Prinz Adalbert* sunk by British submarine. Austrian air-men raid Venice.
- Oct. 26.—Teutonic forces seize Valjevo and Petrovac. Bulgars are defeated by Allied forces near Strumitza.
- Oct. 27.—Teuton forces join Bulgars on Danube, open way to Turkey. French gain in Arras. Germans pierce Russian line at Dvinsk.
- Oct. 28.—French cabinet, headed by Viviani, resigns in body. Briand appointed Premier by President Poincaré.
- Oct. 29.—Briand names new cabinet.
- Nov. 1.—Germans take Kraguyevatz, and capture Serbia's largest arsenal.
- Nov. 3.—Bulgars and Germans gain in Serbia. Uzice captured by Germans.
- Nov. 4.—Greek cabinet resigns after Premier Zaimis loses in Parliament. Bulgars within six miles of Nish. Germans win back Dvinsk position.
- Nov. 5.—Greek King ignores war party. Teutons drive Serbs back in north and Bulgars beat French forces in south.
- Nov. 6.—Nish, the former capital of Serbia, captured by the Bulgarians.
- Nov. 7.—Teutons drive Russians back across Stripa River. Teutons retake trenches on western front.
- Nov. 8.—M. Skouloudis appointed Greek Premier. Germans and Bulgars close in on Serbia.
- Nov. 9.—Serious revolts reported in India. Lord Kitchener said to have been sent to quell rebels. French gain on west front after severe attacks. Italy to send troops to Serbia through Albania.

1915

- Nov. 10.—Italian liner *Ancona* sunk by Austrian submarine. Over 200 persons missing. British renew attacks near Loos. Russians lose near Riga.
- Nov. 12.—Greek Chamber dissolved.
- Nov. 14.—Russians driven back across the Styra after prolonged fighting.
- Nov. 22.—Anglo-Indian troops rout Turks at Ctesiphon, near Bagdad, but are obliged to retreat.
- Nov. 23.—Bulgarians capture Mitrovitsa and Pristina.
- Nov. 28.—British aeroplane destroys German submarine off Middlekirke.
- Nov. 30.—Prisrend taken, opening up railway between Constantinople and Berlin via Vienna, Belgrade and Sofia.
- Dec. 2.—British withdraw 70,000 troops from Gallipoli. Russians advance on Teheran, Persia. General Joffre made supreme commander of French armies.
- Dec. 6.—U. S. sends note to Austria-Hungary demanding disavowal for sinking the *Ancona*.
- Dec. 8.—Austrians force Serbian army in north through Montenegro. British army under General Townshend retreats to Kut-el-Amara.
- Dec. 11.—Turkish forces besiege Kut-el-Amara.
- Dec. 15.—General Sir Douglas Haig succeeds Sir John French as commander-in-chief of British forces in France and Belgium.
- Dec. 21.—Reichstag votes German war credit of \$2,500,000,000.
- Dec. 28.—Germans lose line of trenches to French in Alsace.
- Dec. 30.—Italian fleet defeats Austrian squadron off Durazzo and sinks two ships. Austria-Hungary disavows sinking of *Ancona*.

1916

- Jan. 4.—U. S. protests British interference with mails.
- Jan. 9.—Remainder of British force leaves Gallipoli.

1916

- Jan. 10.—Herbert Samuel, British Postmaster-General, succeeds Sir John Simon as Home Secretary.
- Jan. 11.—Austro-Germans capture Mont Lovtchen, Montenegrin stronghold.
- Jan. 12.—Austrians occupy Cetinje, capital of Montenegro.
- Jan. 16.—Russian army advances in Armenia.
- Jan. 28.—Germans take line of trenches from French, south of Somme River.
- Jan. 29.—Zeppelins raid Paris and kill twenty-three non-combatants.
- Jan. 31.—Zeppelins raid English towns and kill fifty-nine.
- Feb. 1.—German prize crew bring to Hampton Roads British steamer *Appam*, captured by cruiser *Moewe*.
- Feb. 16.—Russians capture Erzerum, a Turkish fortress.
- Feb. 17.—Franco-British forces complete conquest of Kamerun, a German province in Africa.
- Feb. 20.—Zeppelin is brought down by French near Revigny, France.
- Feb. 21.—House of Commons vote war credit of \$2,100,000,000, bringing total to \$10,410,000,000. Crown Prince, with army of 300,000, attacks French trenches west of the Meuse.
- Feb. 23.—Lord Robert Cecil appointed War Trade Minister. Portugal seizes thirty-six German and Austrian interned Merchantmen.
- Feb. 26.—Austrians occupy Durazzo, Albania evacuated by Italians.
- Feb. 27.—Submarine sinks French transport in Mediterranean with loss of 3,100.
- Mar. 2.—Russians take Bitlis, fortified city 110 miles south of Erzerum.
- Mar. 5.—Auxiliary cruiser *Moewe* returns to Germany after capturing or destroying fifteen allied vessels.
- Mar. 6.—Germans capture Forges near Verdun. British relief force reaches Es-sinn, seven miles from Kut-el-Amara.
- Mar. 8.—Germany declares war on Portugal for seizing interned ships.

1916

- Mar. 14.—Grand Admiral von Tirpitz resigns and is succeeded by Admiral von Capelle.
- Mar. 16.—General Gallieni is succeeded by General Roques as French Minister of War.
- Mar. 18.—Submarine sinks French destroyer *Renaudin* in Adriatic.
- Mar. 24.—British Channel steamer *Sussex* torpedoed by German submarine.
- Mar. 27.—British gain at St. Eloi, Belgium.
- Mar. 28.—Allies hold war conference in Paris for future conduct of war.
- Mar. 30.—Germans capture Malancourt by gigantic infantry assaults.
- Mar. 31.—Germans take Vaux.
- Apr. 5.—Germans seize Haucourt, west of the Meuse.
- Apr. 8.—French withdraw from Bethincourt.
- Apr. 18.—Russian troops supported by Black Sea fleet take Trebizond.
- Apr. 22.—Sir Roger Casement is arrested while attempting to land with German arms in Ireland.
- Apr. 24.—Revolt breaks out in Ireland.
- Apr. 25.—German battle cruisers with submarines and Zeppelins attack English towns northeast of London.
- Apr. 28.—10,000 British troops besieged for 143 days at Kut-el-Amara surrender to Turks.
- Apr. 30.—Germans make fierce but unsuccessful attacks against Dead Man's Hill, west of the Meuse.
- May 1.—Irish rebellion ends.
- May 4.—Germany, under pressure from the U. S., promises to observe international law in regard to submarine warfare.
- May 17.—Austrians in Lake Garda regions cross Italian frontier.
- May 20.—British army on Tigris is joined by Russian Cossacks from Persian frontier.
- May 22.—French recapture part of Fort Douaumont.
- May 23.—House of Commons vote a \$1,500,000,000 war credit, bringing total up to \$11,910,000,000.

1916

- May 25.—Military Compulsion Bill becomes a law in England, affecting men between eighteen and forty-one.
- May 26.—Bulgarian troops enter Greece and take possession of several forts.
- May 29.—Officials announce in London that forty-four air attacks have been made on England since war began, resulting in 409 dead and 1,005 injured, also, in three attacks by German warships, 141 were killed and 611 injured.
- May 31.—British and German fleets meet in battle off Jutland, Denmark. British lose fourteen war vessels and Germans eleven. 9,500 lives lost.
- June 4.—Russians under Brussiloff begin new offensive, capture 13,000 Austrians along 332 mile front.
- June 5.—British cruiser *Hampshire* sunk by mine off Orkney Islands on way to Russia. Lord Kitchener, Secretary of War, and entire staff, lost. Russians take Lutsk and 15,000 Austrians.
- June 7.—Germans occupy Fort Vaux, five miles southeast of Verdun.
- June 9.—Italian transport *Principe Umberto* sunk by submarine in Adriatic.
- June 10.—Salandra Government resigns in Italy. Dubno, with 35,000 Austrians, captured by Russians.
- June 12.—Germans penetrate advance positions, four miles from Verdun.
- June 14.—Encounter between Russian and German battleships in Baltic.
- June 15.—French win back Le Mort Homme and Caillette Wood. Boselli, new Italian Premier, forms cabinet.
- June 17.—Russians under General Lechitsky capture Czernowitz.
- June 18.—Radziviloff, twelve miles north-east of Brody, taken by Russians.
- June 21.—Russians occupy Radautz.
- June 24.—Victor Chapman, American aviator in France, killed while flying over German lines.
- June 28.—Germans remove 300,000 men from Verdun front for service on the Somme.

1916

- June 29.—Sir Roger Casement is found guilty of high treason, and sentenced to die on August 3.
- July 1.—Italians regain one-third of territory lost since May 13. Franco-British offensive begins north and south of the Somme River and French advance.
- July 3.—Russian left wing advances to within twenty miles of Lemberg.
- July 7.—Russians begin offensive on Riga front.
- July 8.—Allies abandon Declaration of London and revert to blockade principles as provided by international law.
- July 9.—German merchant submarine *Deutschland* arrives at Baltimore from Germany.
- July 10.—French aeroplanes from Saloniki raid Sofia and Monastir. English capture three towns and 6,000 prisoners on the Somme.
- July 15.—Cossacks cross Carpathians and raid Hungary.
- July 18.—England publishes names of eighty-two firms as black list.
- July 21.—British take two more towns on the Somme.
- July 25.—Crisis in British cabinet over provisional scheme for Home Rule in Ireland.
- July 27.—U. S. protests against British blacklist as illegal.
- July 28.—Charles Fryatt, British sea captain, executed by Germans for trying to ram a submarine in March, 1915. Russians capture Brody.
- July 29.—French establish new line south of Somme and bombard Peronne. German airships raid east coast of England.
- Aug. 3.—Sir Roger Casement is hanged.
- Aug. 4.—Turkish troops attack British positions in Egypt, but are repulsed with heavy losses. French recapture Thiaumont.
- Aug. 6.—British troops advance 500 yards from Pozieres. Baron Wimborne appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.
- Aug. 7.—Turks recapture Bitlis in Asia Minor from Russian troops. Austrian aeroplanes raid Venice.

1916

- Aug. 9.—Italians capture Goritzia. Zeppelins raid the east coast of England, causing twenty-three casualties.
- Aug. 10.—Russians are forced to retreat in Persia. Stanislaw is captured by the Russians.
- Aug. 15.—Allied forces close in on German East Africa.
- Aug. 16.—French make brilliant advances on the Somme front. Germany claims that seventy-four merchantmen were sunk by submarines during July.
- Aug. 17.—General Ruzsky is appointed commander-in-chief of the northern armies of Russia.
- Aug. 19.—British cruisers *Nottingham* and *Falmouth* sunk by German submarines in North Sea.
- Aug. 24.—French and British troops make further gains on Somme front.
- Aug. 28.—Roumania declares war on Austria-Hungary.
- Aug. 29.—Roumanian army begins invasion of Transylvania in two directions.
- Aug. 30.—Field-Marshal von Hindenburg succeeds General von Falkenhayn as Chief of the General Staff of the German army.
- Sept. 1.—Italians in Albania and Serbians in Macedonia begin offensives against Bulgarians. Greek army joins rebellion against King.
- Sept. 2.—French fleet captures seven Teuton merchant vessels in the Greek harbor of Piraeus.
- Sept. 3.—Dar es Salam, German East Africa, taken by British forces. Zeppelins raid London. Roumanians capture six towns in Transylvania.
- Sept. 4.—Allies' secret police arrest German propagandists in Athens. Teutonic allies under von Mackensen invade Dobrudja, a Roumanian province.
- Sept. 5.—Russians claim to have captured 20,000 Austrians in two weeks.
- Sept. 10.—Von Mackensen takes Silistria.
- Sept. 15.—Lloyd George, British War Minister, denies misuse of mail to obtain American trade secrets.

1916

- Sept. 17.—Serbians defeat Bulgarians at Kaimakcalan. German Admiralty issues statement that "126 hostile merchant ships totaling 170,679 tons and 35 neutral vessels totaling 38,568 tons, were destroyed by submarines during August."
- Sept. 18.—Austrians aided by Turkish troops force Russians to retreat.
- Sept. 19.—Roumanians are defeated by Germans at Szurdok Pass and retreat toward Constantza.
- Sept. 21.—Revolution headed by ex-Premier Venizelos, breaks out in Crete.
- Sept. 23.—Italians advance on Trentino front.
- Sept. 25.—British advance on Combles and take three towns. Zeppelins, in raid on English coast, kill 36 and wound 26 non-combatants.
- Sept. 26.—Allies capture Combles and Thiepval. Turks drive Russians back 22 miles in Persia.
- Sept. 30.—Roumanians in Transylvania are forced to retreat. British losses for September are 111,549 officers and men.
- Oct. 1.—Zeppelin shot down near London.
- Oct. 2.—Roumanian troops cross into Bulgaria.
- Oct. 5.—Cunard liner *Franconia* is torpedoed in the Mediterranean.
- Oct. 7.—British capture five Bulgarian villages. German submarine *U-53* arrives at Newport, R. I.
- Oct. 8.—Six vessels torpedoed off Nantucket Island by submarine *U-53*. Austro-Germans retake Kronstadt.
- Oct. 9.—Two U-boats sunk off Archangel by Russian torpedo-boat.
- Oct. 12.—Italians claim to have taken 30,881 prisoners since August 6. French press toward Morval.
- Oct. 13.—Von Falkenhayn's forces recapture all of Transylvania recently occupied by the Roumanians. Italians force Austrians to retire on Carso front.
- Oct. 16.—Allies recognize provisional government set up by ex-Premier Venizelos on Island of Crete. Teutons begin offensive in the Carpathians.

1916

- Oct. 17.—Allies seize remaining three Greek battleships and land marines at Piraeus. Germans repulse Russians on Volhynian front and take 1,900 prisoners.
- Oct. 18.—Sailly-Saillisel falls to the French after hard fighting.
- Oct. 19.—Serbians advance in Macedonia and capture Brod.
- Oct. 20.—Three British transports are sunk in the Mediterranean, by submarines. Germans regain ground lost to the British in the Somme sector. Serbians make advances east of Monastir. Von Mackensen resumes offensive in the Dobrudja, forcing Roumanians back.
- Oct. 21.—British advance in the Somme sector. The Austrian Premier, Count Stuergh, is assassinated in Vienna. Germans reach coast of Black Sea in Roumania. Teutons capture Russian positions southeast of Lemberg.
- Oct. 23.—Constantza, Roumania's chief port of the Black Sea, is captured by the Teutons.
- Oct. 24.—Germans drive the Roumanians sixteen miles and capture 6,700 prisoners. French retake Douaumont, Thiaumont and two miles of trenches, taken by Germans by two months' fighting.
- Oct. 25.—Tchernavoda falls to von Mackensen's army. Von Falkenhayn storms Vulcan Pass and reaches point 75 miles from Bukharest.
- Oct. 26.—Ten German destroyers raid English Channel and sink a torpedo-boat destroyer and seven vessels.
- Oct. 27.—Teutons drive the Roumanian army forty miles past Tchernavoda.
- Oct. 28.—Steamship *Lanao*, flying American flag, sunk by submarine.
- Oct. 29.—Capt. Boelke, famous German aviator, is killed in aeroplane battle. Roumanians check German advances.
- Oct. 30.—British steamship *Marina* is torpedoed by German submarine off Irish coast. Six Americans drowned.
- Oct. 31.—British losses for October are 4,331 officers and 102,702 men.

1916

- Nov. 1.—Submarine *Deutschland* arrives at New London, Conn., with a \$10,000,000 cargo. British capture three villages on Macedonian front. Von Falkenhayn's forces drive Roumanians twelve miles inside border.
- Nov. 2.—Italians gain on twelve mile front and capture 5,000 prisoners. Fort Vaux is evacuated by the German army.
- Nov. 3.—Italians continue to advance and take 3,500 more prisoners.
- Nov. 5.—French take two more towns outside of Verdun. Russian Poland is proclaimed an independent state by Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- Nov. 7.—*Arabia*, a passenger vessel, is sunk by German submarine.
- Nov. 8.—Belgium protests against deportations of its able-bodied men by German officials.
- Nov. 9.—Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg declares Germany is ready to enter a league of peace on condition it insures freedom of the seas. Roumanians retake Hirsova in the Dobrudja and drive Germans back. U-boats break through British blockade and raid French coast.
- Nov. 12.—French, under General Foch, recapture Saillisel.
- Nov. 14.—U. S. protests to Germany on the deportation of the Belgians. British capture Beaucourt and 5,000 prisoners. Great Britain rejects U. S. demand to lift blacklist.
- Nov. 16.—Allies drive to within four miles of Monastir and take twelve towns.
- Nov. 19.—Serbians recapture Monastir.
- Nov. 21.—Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary dies and is succeeded by Karl Francis Joseph. Craiova, Roumania, captured by von Falkenhayn.
- Nov. 22.—*Britannic*, transporting wounded soldiers, sunk by German submarine in Aegean Sea.
- Nov. 23.—France appoints a Minister of Provisions to control food supply.
- Nov. 24.—Orsova is captured by von Mackensen.

1916

- Nov. 28.—Two Zeppelins are shot down in England.
- Dec. 3.—Lloyd George, British Secretary for War, resigns.
- Dec. 4.—Germans shell Bukharest.
- Dec. 5.—Premier Asquith resigns.
- Dec. 6.—Bukharest is captured by Germans. Lloyd George is appointed Premier.
- Dec. 9.—U. S., in note to Germany, condemns deportation of Belgian citizens. Von Mackensen captures 18,000 Roumanians.
- Dec. 10.—Lloyd George names War Council of five, and other cabinet members.
- Dec. 12.—Germany, in note to Entente powers, makes bid for peace. French cabinet is reconstructed.
- Dec. 15.—Russian Duma rejects peace proposals. French advance on Meuse River and capture a great number of prisoners.
- Dec. 19.—General Nivelle replaces General Joffre as commander-in-chief of the French armies.
- Dec. 20.—President Wilson sends notes to all belligerents requesting "their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded."
- Dec. 26.—Teutonic Allies reply to U. S. note evades giving terms of peace.
- Dec. 30.—The Allies in answer to President Wilson's note insist that no peace is possible until reparation is secured for violated rights and liberties and free existence of small states and settlement for future security of the world is brought about.
- Dec. 31.—Braila, a large Roumanian grain center, is taken by Teutonic forces.

1917

- Jan. 1.—Teutons in Moldavia capture heights and two towns in Zaballa valley.
- Jan. 2.—Roumanians regain ground in Kasino River sector.
- Jan. 3.—Teutons capture Matchin and Jijila in northern Dobrudja and Barsesci and Topesci on Moldavian front.

1917

- Jan. 5.—Germans and Bulgars take Braila in Wallachia, Slobozio and Rotesti in the Rimmnik-Sarat sector and Gurgueti and Romanul south of the Buzeu.
- Jan. 6.—Teutons capture five towns near Braila and reach Sereth River at two points. British seize two hostile posts north of Beaumont-Hamel.
- Jan. 8.—Russians capture enemy trenches south of Lake Babit.
- Jan. 10.—British Indian troops take trenches 1000 yards from Kut-el-Amara. British seize German trench north of Ancre.
- Jan. 11.—Teutons cross river Putna. British capture trenches covering town of Rofa.
- Jan. 12.—Teutons cover town of Laburtie in Roumania.
- Jan. 13.—British send note to President Wilson stating peace terms.
- Jan. 15.—British take a town on Shatt-el-Hai River.
- Jan. 17.—Russians retake Vadenia.
- Jan. 20.—Germans take Nanesti on the Sereth River.
- Jan. 22.—President Wilson speaks in United States Senate on United States course in International Peace League.
- Jan. 25.—British auxiliary cruiser *Laurentic* sunk.
- Jan. 26.—British gains southwest of Kut-el-Amara and in Mesopotamia. Germans retire to Vtete in German East Africa.
- Jan. 27.—French repulsed near Hill 304. British Admiralty announces position of North Sea dangerous to neutral ships.
- Jan. 31.—French penetrate through German lines in Lorraine south of Leintrey. Russians capture Austro-German fortifications east of Jacobeni. Germany makes announcement of submarine warfare.
- Feb. 1.—Turks advance in Persia and occupy Dizabad and approach Sultanabad.
- Feb. 3.—United States breaks diplomatic relations with Germany.
- Feb. 8.—Russians capture Teuton positions near Kirlibaba. French occupy Ojani in Macedonia. Germans forced from heights near Saily-Saillisel.

1917

- Feb. 13.—Teutons take Italian position east of Paralovo.
- Feb. 14.—British capture position southeast of Grandcourt and penetrate into German lines near Arras.
- Feb. 16.—Germans make gains south of Ripont.
- Feb. 17.—British carry important German position north of Baillecourt.
- Feb. 20.—Germans capture British point of support near La Transloy.
- Feb. 22.—Allies clear Southern Albania and cut communication of Athens with Central Powers.
- Feb. 24.—British capture Petit Miraumont.
- Feb. 25.—British occupy Serre, Miraumont and Pys.
- Feb. 26.—British take Kut-el-Amara. German destroyers raid Margate and Broadstairs on British coast.
- Feb. 27.—Cunard liner *Laconia* carrying passengers, men, women and children and a crew of 216, was sunk by a German submarine off the Irish coast. 12 passengers perished and 2 of them were American citizens.
- Feb. 28.—British occupy Gommecourt. French destroyer *Cassini* sunk by submarine in Mediterranean.
- Mar. 3.—Russians recapture Hamadan in Persia and advance on Bagdad.
- Mar. 4.—British advance west of Bapaume. Russians occupy Khanikali in Persia.
- Mar. 5.—Germans launch big attack at Verdun. Italians successfully storm Austrian positions in Spellegrino valley.
- Mar. 7.—French capture salient near Butte de Mesnil and seize Asadabad summit in Persia. British approach Jerusalem.
- Mar. 8.—Russians occupy Kangaver. British advance within 8 miles of Bagdad and occupy Ctesiphon. Strikes in Petrograd. Russians seize Sakkiz. British reach outskirts of Bagdad.
- Mar. 10.—British advance in Ancre region and capture Irlès. Russians capture Senne in Western Persia.
- Mar. 11.—British occupy Bagdad. Russians take Sahua in northwestern Persia.

1917

- Mar. 12.—French recapture most of Hill 185. British gain north of Bouchavesnes. Czar of Russia suspends Duma sittings.
- Mar. 13.—British occupy Kazimain north of Bagdad.
- Mar. 14.—The American ship *Algonquin* sunk by a German submarine. Russians capture Kermansah and British advance 30 miles above Bagdad. French capture Romainville Farm.
- Mar. 16.—Czar abdicates in favor of Prince Lvoff, leaving his brother, Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, as regent who declined to act. Russia under Provisional Government.
- Mar. 17.—British take Bapaume. French occupy Roye and Lassigny.
- Mar. 18.—Three American ships reported sunk by submarines. Russians in Persia capture Van and occupy Baneh. Germans retire on 85 mile front in France, abandoning Péronne, Chaulnes, Nesle and Noyon.
- Mar. 19.—French take Ham, Guiscard and Chauny. Russians occupy Harunabad in Persia and British occupy Bahriz and part of Bakubah. French warship *Danton* sunk.
- Mar. 20.—Provisional Government of Russia issues manifesto and includes decision to observe alliances regarding present war. French occupy Tergnier also in Balkans Rashtam Hill.
- Mar. 21.—President Wilson issues proclamation calling Congress in extra session on April 2.
- Mar. 24.—President Wilson ordered the withdrawal from Belgium of Minister Whitlock, all American consular officials for relief in Belgium. French take two forts protecting La Fere.
- Mar. 25.—British capture Lagnicourt west of Cambrai. French capture Folembray and La Feuillée.
- Mar. 27.—Germans force Russians back by gas attacks in the Baranovich region. French capture the forest of Coucy. British take Longavesnes, Lieramont and Equancourt.

1917

- Mar. 28.—British capture Villers-Faucon and the heights crowned by Saulcourt.
- Mar. 29.—British capture Neuville Bourjonval. British rout a Turkish army of 20,000 in battle near Gaza.
- Mar. 30.—British occupy Ruyalcourt, Fins and Sorel-le-Grand. French recapture first line trenches west of Maison-le-Champagne.
- Mar. 31.—British advance up the Cologne River capturing eight villages.
- April 1.—British capture Savy and Epehy.
- April 2.—President Wilson addressed the U. S. Congress asking that body to declare that Germany had been making war upon the United States. A resolution recognizing and declaring that a state of war existed with Germany was passed by both houses.
- April 3.—French capture Dallon, Giffecourt and Cerizy and heights south of Urvillers.
- April 4.—British take Metz-en-Couture.
- April 5.—Germans attack the French west of Rheims. British capture Roussoy and Basse-Boulogne east of Peronne.
- April 6.—President Wilson signed declaration of war with Germany and at the same time issued a proclamation notifying the world that war had been begun and warning all alien enemies to keep the peace. British capture Lempire. French retake part of the positions lost north of Rheims.
- April 7.—Austria-Hungary severed diplomatic relations with the United States. Austrian ships in American ports were seized. Cuba announced that a state of war exists with Germany and German ships in Havana harbor were seized.
- April 8.—Germans shell Rheims and French Government orders population to evacuate the city.
- April 9.—British capture Vimy Ridge and many fortified points.
- April 10.—British capture Fampoux and its defenses on both sides of the Scarpe River.
- April 11.—British capture Monchy-le-Preux and heights dominating the country towards Cambrai.

1917

- April 12.—British take Wancourt and also Turkish territory to a depth of fifteen miles in the region of Gaza.
- April 13.—British capture Ancres and the town of Vimy.
- April 14.—British take Fayet, Gricourt and Lievin.
- April 16.—French take 10,000 prisoners and reach German line at six points in Alsace. Germans destroy St. Quentin canal.
- April 17.—German submarine made unsuccessful attack on the United States destroyer *Smith* about 100 miles from New York.
- April 18.—French take Vailly and Conde-Sur-Aisne. British take Villers-Guislain.
- April 19.—American steamer *Mongolia* fired on a German submarine in British waters and damaged it.
- April 21.—British capture Gonnelleu. Two German destroyers sunk near Dover.
- April 23.—Turks evacuate Istabulat.
- April 24.—British occupy Samara station.
- April 25.—Allies report that in three days 55 German airplanes were brought down and 39 of their own lost.
- April 26.—British take Bulgar trenches west of Lake Doiran.
- April 27.—German destroyers bombard Ramsgate.
- May 2.—Russians evacuate Mush.
- May 3.—British take Fresnoy and part of Bullecourt.
- May 8.—Germans retake Fresnoy.
- May 12.—French penetrate German line north of Bezonvaux in Verdun.
- May 14.—British capture Roeux.
- May 16.—Announcement was made that a squadron of United States torpedo boats under the command of Rear Admiral Sims had safely crossed the Atlantic and was aiding the British fleet in patrolling the seas.
- May 17.—British complete the capture of Bullecourt; Italians take Mount Kuk, also Duino on the way to Trieste.

1917

- May 18.—President Wilson issued a proclamation fixing June 5 as the day for the registration of men between the ages of 21 and 30. Announcement was made that an expeditionary force of regular troops under Major Gen. Pershing would be sent to France at the earliest possible moment. British War Office announces that British heavy artillery batteries are co-operating with the Italians against the Austrians on the Julian front.
- May 19.—Italians take Hill 652 on Monte Vodice.
- May 23.—French seize the last heights dominating the valley of the Ailette River.
- May 26.—German Zeppelins raided Folkestone, 76 killed and 174 injured.
- June 5.—In compliance with the United States army law between 9,000,000 and 10,000,000 men registered.
- June 8.—Major Gen. Pershing reached England and went from there to Paris.
- June 13.—German Zeppelin raids in England killed 104 and injured 403 persons.
- June 15.—Subscriptions to the Liberty Loan reached total of almost \$2,900,000,000.
- June 19.—Vice Admiral Sims appointed to take charge of Allied naval forces in Irish waters.
- June 20.—Italians capture Austrian positions on Monte Ortigara.
- June 26.—Canadians capture La Coulotte and push towards Lens.
- July 3.—Russians take Presovce, Zborow, and Kornshiduv.
- July 10.—Russians take Haliez.
- July 12.—Russians capture Kalusz, and push on toward Dolina.
- July 16.—Russians take eastern end of Lodziany.
- July 27.—Germans capture Kolomea.
- Aug. 3.—Austrians capture Czernowitz.
- Aug. 6.—Russians evacuate Proskusov in Podolia and Kamenetz-Podolsk the capital of Podolia.
- Aug. 8.—Russians capture two villages and retake positions near Sereminke.

1917

- Aug. 10.—A food control bill was passed by the United States Congress and signed by President Wilson. British capture Westhoek Ridge.
- Aug. 15.—Canadians take Hill 70. Austro-Germans seize the bridgehead at Baltaretu and capture Stracani.
- Aug. 16.—British capture Langemarek.
- Aug. 20.—French break German lines north of Verdun gaining Avocourt Wood, Dead Man Hill, Talon Ridge and the Corbeaux and Cumieres Woods.
- Aug. 22.—German Zeppelins raided Yorkshire and Gotha; airplanes raided Dover, Margate and Ramsgate.
- Aug. 24.—French capture Hill 304.
- Aug. 25.—Italians capture Monte Santo.
- Sept. 3.—German Zeppelins dropped bombs on naval station at Chatham, killing 108 persons and wounding 92.
- Sept. 4.—Italians capture Monte San Gabriele; German Zeppelins raid London.
- Sept. 5.—First contingent of drafted men for the United States army arrived at their cantonments. A German submarine bombarded Scarborough, killing 3 persons and injuring 5.
- Sept. 6.—British-American hospitals on the French coast attacked by German Zeppelins.
- Sept. 8.—Germans repulsed in Lorraine east of Rheims and north of Courcy.
- Sept. 11.—British on the Somme carry a German trench near Villeret.
- Sept. 14.—Italians gain the northwestern crest and the peak of Monte San Gabriele. The Provisional Government of Russia proclaim a republic. Russians on the Riga front capture Kronberg, Keitzen, Sisseral and Peine.
- Sept. 20.—British penetrate German lines along Ypres-Menin road and capture Velahock and Zevenkote.
- Sept. 22.—Germans capture Jacobstadt.
- Sept. 25.—The Argentine Republic voted to sever relations with Germany but President Irigoyen refused to act.

1917

- Sept. 28.—British capture Mushaid Ridge and occupy Ramadie on the Euphrates, taking prisoner Ahmed Bey, the Turkish commander and his staff.
- Oct. 1.—England attacked by four squadrons of German Zeppelins in strongest air attack yet made on coast towns.
- Oct. 4.—Arabs in revolt against Turks effect junction with British in Southern Palestine and control the Hedjaz railway as far north as Maan. British win the crest of the Passchendaele Heights on advance from north of Langemarck.
- Oct. 5.—Russians take the village of Nere-man, 50 miles north of Mosul. Peru votes to sever diplomatic relations with Germany.
- Oct. 7.—Uruguay severed relations with Germany and waived her neutrality rules in favor of the Allies.
- Oct. 9.—French capture St. Jean de Mangelaers and Veldhock.
- Oct. 10.—President Wilson issues a proclamation governing foodstuffs.
- Oct. 14.—The trading with the enemy act was put into effect by an order issued by President Wilson.
- Oct. 15.—Italians make successful attacks on the Southern slopes of Monte Rombon.
- Oct. 17.—Germans take the island of Oesel and crush Russian force on Svovb peninsula. United States Transport *Antilles* sunk by German submarine and 70 persons lost.
- Oct. 18.—Germans capture Moon Island.
- Oct. 20.—Four German Zeppelins returning from raid in England were brought down in France.
- Oct. 25.—French capture several villages and the forest of Pinon.
- Oct. 26.—The Brazil Chamber of Deputies declares that a state of war exists between Brazil and Germany.
- Oct. 28.—From the first line of trenches in France the American Artillery fired the first shot of the war. The second Liberty Loan subscription was announced to be \$3,035,226,850.

1917

- Oct. 29.—Teutons take Gorizia and Cividale and report capture of 60,000 Italians, 500 guns and 26 aeroplanes.
- Oct. 31.—Teutons take Udine and cross Alps into Venetia.
- Nov. 1.—Germans abandon position on Chemin des Dames.
- Nov. 3.—Americans in trenches suffer 20 casualties in German attacks.
- Nov. 5.—Italians abandon Tagliamento line and retire on a 93-mile front in the Carnic Alps.
- Nov. 6.—Passchendaele captured by Canadians.
- Nov. 6.—British Mesopotamian forces reach Tekrit, 100 miles northwest of Bagdad.
- Nov. 7.—The Russian Bolsheviki, led by Lenin and Trotsky, seize Petrograd and depose Kerensky.
- Nov. 8.—Gen. Diaz succeeds Gen. Cadorna as Commander-in-Chief of Italian armies.
- Nov. 9.—Italians retreat to the Piave.
- Nov. 10.—Lenine becomes Premier of Russia, succeeding Kerensky.
- Nov. 15.—Georges Clemenceau becomes Premier of France, succeeding Painlevé.
- Nov. 18.—Major General Maude, captor of Bagdad, dies in Mesopotamia.
- Nov. 21.—Ribecourt, Flesquières, Havrincourt, Marcoing and other German positions captured by British.
- Nov. 23.—Italians repulse Germans on the whole front from the Asiago Plateau to the Brenta River.
- Nov. 24.—Cambrai menaced by British, who approach within three miles, capturing Bourlon Wood.
- Dec. 1.—German East Africa reported completely conquered.
- Dec. 1.—Allies' Supreme War Council, representing the United States, France, Great Britain and Italy, holds first meeting at Versailles.
- Dec. 3.—Russian Bolsheviki arrange armistice with Germans.
- Dec. 5.—British retire from Bourlon Wood, Graincourt and other positions west of Cambrai.

1917

- Dec. 6.—*Jacob Jones*, American destroyer, sunk by submarine in European waters.
- Dec. 6.—Steamer *Mont Blanc*, loaded with munitions, explodes in collision with the *Imo* in Halifax harbor; 1500 persons are killed.
- Dec. 7.—Finland declares independence.
- Dec. 8.—Jerusalem, held by the Turks for 673 years, surrenders to British, under Gen. Allenby.
- Dec. 8.—Ecuador breaks with Germany.
- Dec. 10.—Panama at war with Austria-Hungary.
- Dec. 11.—United States at war with Austria-Hungary.
- Dec. 15.—Armistice signed between Germany and Russia at Brest-Litovsk.
- Dec. 17.—Coalition government of Sir Robert Borden is returned and conscription confirmed in Canada.

1918

- Jan. 14.—Premier Clemenceau orders arrest of former Premier Caillaux on high treason charge.
- Jan. 19.—American troops take over sector northwest of Toul.
- Jan. 29.—Italians capture Monte di val Belle.
- Feb. 1.—Argentine Minister of War recalls military attaches from Berlin and Vienna.
- Feb. 6.—*Tuscania*, American transport, torpedoed off coast of Ireland; 101 lost.
- Feb. 22.—American troops in Chemin des Dames sector.
- Feb. 26.—British hospital ship, *Glenart Castle*, torpedoed.
- Feb. 27.—Japan proposes joint military operations with Allies in Siberia.
- Mar. 1.—Americans gain decisive victory in salient north of Toul.
- Mar. 3.—Peace treaty between Bolshevik government of Russia and the Central Powers signed at Brest-Litovsk.
- Mar. 4.—Treaty signed between Germany and Finland.
- Mar. 5.—Rumania signs treaty of peace with Central Powers.

1918

- Mar. 9.—Russian capital moved from Petrograd to Moscow.
- Mar. 14.—Russo-German peace treaty ratified by All-Russian Congress of Soviets at Moscow.
- Mar. 20.—President Wilson orders 'all Holland ships in American ports taken over.
- Mar. 21.—Germans begin great drive on 50-mile front from Arras to La Fère. Bombardment of Paris by German long-range gun from a distance of 76 miles.
- Mar. 24.—Peronne, Ham and Chauny evacuated by Allies.
- Mar. 25.—Bapaume and Nesle occupied by Germans.
- Mar. 29.—General Foch chosen Commander-in-Chief of Allied forces.
- April 5.—Japanese forces landed at Vladivostok.
- April 9.—Second German drive begun in Flanders.
- April 10.—First German drive halted before Amiens after maximum advance of 35 miles.
- April 15.—Second German drive halted before Ypres, after maximum advance of 10 miles.
- April 16.—Bolo (Pasha, Levantine resident in Paris, executed for treason.
- April 21.—Guatemala at war with Germany.
- April 22.—Baron Von Richthofen, premier German flier, killed.
- April 23.—British naval forces raid Zeebrugge in Belgium, German submarine base, and block channel.
- May 7.—Nicaragua at war with Germany.
- May 19.—Major Raoul Lufberry, American aviator, killed.
- May 24.—Costa Rica at war with Germany and Austria-Hungary.
- May 27.—Third German drive begins on Aisne-Marne front of 30 miles between Soissons and Rheims.
- May 28.—Germans sweep on beyond the Chemin des Dames and cross the Vesle at Fismes.
- May 28.—Cantigny taken by Americans.

1918

May 29.—Soissons evacuated by French.
 May 31.—Marne River crossed by Germans, who reach Chateau Thierry, 40 miles from Paris.
 May 31.—*President Lincoln*, American transport, sunk.
 June 2.—Schooner *Edward H. Cole* torpedoed by submarine off American coast.
 June 3-6.—American marines and regulars check advance of Germans at Chateau Thierry and Neuilly after maximum advance of Germans of 32 miles.
 June 9-14.—German drive on Noyon-Montdidier front. Maximum advance, 5 miles.
 June 15-24.—Austrian drive on Italian front ends in complete failure.
 June 30.—American troops in France, in all departments of service, number 1,019,115.
 July 1.—Vaux taken by Americans.
 July 3.—Mohammed V, Sultan of Turkey, dies.
 July 10.—Czechoslovaks, aided by Allies, take control of a long stretch of the Trans-Siberian Railway.
 July 12.—Berat, Austrian base in Albania, captured by Italians.
 July 15.—Haiti declares war on Germany.
 July 15.—Stonewall defense of Chateau Thierry blocks new German drive on Paris.
 July 16.—Nicholas Romanoff, ex-Czar of Russia, executed at Yekaterinburg.
 July 17.—Lieut. Quentin Roosevelt, youngest son of ex-President Roosevelt, killed in aerial battle near Chateau Thierry.
 July 18.—French and Americans begin counter offensive on Marne-Aisne front.
 July 19.—*San Diego*, United States cruiser, sunk off Fire Island.
 July 20.—*Carpathia*, Cunard liner, used as transport, torpedoed off Irish coast.
 July 20.—*Justicia*, giant liner used as troopship, is sunk off Irish coast.
 July 21.—German submarine sinks three barges off Cape Cod.
 July 23.—French take Oulchy-le-Chateau and drive the Germans back ten miles between Aisne and the Marne.
 July 30.—Allies astride the Ourcq; Germans in full retreat to the Vesle.

1918

Aug. 2.—French troops recapture Soissons.
 Aug. 3.—President Wilson announces new policy regarding Russia and agrees to co-operate with Great Britain, France and Japan in sending forces to Murmansk, Archangel and Vladivostok.
 Aug. 3.—Allies advance between Soissons and Rheims, driving the enemy from his base at Fismes and capturing the Aisne-Vesle front.
 Aug. 7.—Franco-American troops cross the Vesle.
 Aug. 8.—New Allied drive begun by Field Marshal Haig in Picardy, penetrating enemy front 14 miles.
 Aug. 10.—Montdidier recaptured.
 Aug. 13.—Lassigny *massif* taken by French.
 Aug. 15.—Canadians capture Damery and Parvillers, northwest of Roye.
 Aug. 29.—Noyon and Bapaume fall in new Allied advance.
 Sept. 1.—Australians take Peronne.
 Sept. 1.—Americans fight for the first time on Belgian soil and capture Voormezele.
 Sept. 11.—Germans are driven back to the Hindenburg line which they held in November, 1917.
 Sept. 12.—Registration day for new draft army of men between 18 and 45 in the United States.
 Sept. 13.—Americans begin offense in St. Mihiel sector on 40-mile front.
 Sept. 14.—St. Mihiel recaptured from Germans. Entire St. Mihiel salient erased, liberating more than 150 square miles of French territory which had been in German hands since 1914.
 Sept. 20.—Nazareth occupied by British forces in Palestine under Gen. Allenby.
 Sept. 23.—Bulgarian armies flee before combined attacks of British, Greek, Serbian, Italian and French.
 Sept. 25.—British take 40,000 prisoners in Palestine offensive.
 Sept. 26.—Strumnitza, Bulgaria, occupied by Allies.
 Sept. 27.—Franco-Americans in drive from Rheims to Verdun take 30,000 prisoners.

1918

- Sept. 28.—Belgians attack enemy from Ypres to North Sea, gaining four miles.
- Sept. 29.—Bulgaria surrenders.
- Sept. 30.—British-Belgian advance reaches Roulers.
- Oct. 1.—St. Quentin, nucleus of Hindenburg line, captured.
- Oct. 1.—Damascus occupied by British in Palestine campaign.
- Oct. 2.—Lens evacuated by Germans.
- Oct. 3.—Albania cleared of Austrians by Italians.
- Oct. 4.—Ferdinand, king of Bulgaria, abdicates; Boris succeeds.
- Oct. 5.—Prince Maximilian, new German Chancellor, pleads with President Wilson to ask Allies for armistice.
- Oct. 7.—Berry-au-Bac taken by French.
- Oct. 8.—President Wilson asks if German Chancellor speaks for people or war lords.
- Oct. 9.—Cambrai in Allied hands.
- Oct. 10.—*Leinster*, passenger steamer, sunk in Irish Channel by submarine; 480 lives lost; final German atrocity at sea.
- Oct. 11.—Americans advance through Argonne forest.
- Oct. 12.—German foreign secretary, Solf, says plea for armistice is made in name of German people; agrees to evacuate all foreign soil.
- Oct. 12.—Nish, in Serbia, occupied by Allies.
- Oct. 13.—Laon and La Fère abandoned by Germans.
- Oct. 13.—Grandpré captured by Americans after four days' battle.

1918

- Oct. 14.—President Wilson refers Germans to General Foch for armistice terms.
- Oct. 16.—Lille entered by British patrols.
- Oct. 17.—Ostend, German submarine base, taken by land and sea forces.
- Oct. 17.—Douai falls to Allies.
- Oct. 19.—Bruges and Zeebrugge taken by Belgians and British.
- Oct. 25.—Beginning of terrific Italian drive which nets 50,000 prisoners in five days.
- Oct. 31.—Turkey surrenders; armistice takes effect at noon; conditions include free passage of Dardanelles.
- Nov. 1.—Cléry-le-Grand captured by American troops of First Army.
- Nov. 3.—Americans sweep ahead on 50-mile front above Verdun; enemy in full retreat.
- Nov. 3.—Official reports announce capture of 362,350 Germans since July 15.
- Nov. 3.—Austria surrenders, signing armistice with Italy at 3 p. m. after 500,000 prisoners had been taken.
- Nov. 7.—American Rainbow Division and parts of First Division enter outskirts of Sedan.
- Nov. 8.—Heights south of Sedan seized by Americans.
- Nov. 9.—Maubeuge captured by Allies.
- Nov. 10.—Canadians take Mons in irresistible advance.
- Nov. 11.—Germany surrenders; armistice takes effect at 11 a. m. American flag raised on Sedan front.

HOW THE WAR CAME TO AMERICA

[*Author's Note:*—Upon the entrance of America into the Great War; there were a large number of our people who were of the opinion that we could have averted this crisis, that Germany had not intentionally violated our rights, and that the President had not exhausted every honorable means looking to a continuance of peace. These people were honest in their convictions and were patriotic, loyal Americans. They were either misinformed or had not become conversant with all the facts leading up to our entering the great maelstrom. For the enlightenment of these, as well as for all patriotic Americans, we give a statement of all the facts by the Public Information Committee. Every American citizen owes it to his country and himself to read this statement carefully, so that he may see clearly that America entered the Great War only after every honorable means had been exhausted and that Germany had deliberately forced this action upon us.]

In the years when this Republic was still struggling for existence, in the face of threatened encroachments by hostile monarchies over the sea, in order to make the New World safe for democracy, our forefathers established here the policy that soon came to be known as the Monroe Doctrine. Warning the Old World not to interfere in the political life of the New, our Government pledged itself in return to abstain from interference in the political conflicts of Europe; and history has vindicated the wisdom of this course. We were then too weak to influence the destinies of Europe, and it was vital to mankind that this first great experiment in government of and by the people should not be disturbed by foreign attack.

Reinforced by the experience of our expanding national life, this doctrine has been ever since the dominating element in the growth of our foreign policy. Whether or not we could have maintained it in case of concerted attack from abroad, it has seemed of such importance to us that we were at all times ready to go to war in its defense. And though since it was first enunciated our strength has grown by leaps and bounds, although in that time the vast increase of our foreign trade and of travel abroad, modern transport, modern mails, the cables and the wireless, have brought us close to Europe and have made our isolation more and more imaginary, there has been, until the outbreak of the present conflict, small desire on our part to abrogate or even amend the old familiar tradition which has for so long given us peace.

In both conferences at The Hague, in 1899 and 1907, we reaffirmed this policy. As our delegates signed the first convention in regard to arbitration, they read into the minutes this statement:

"Nothing contained in this convention shall be so construed as to require

the United States of America to depart from its traditional policy of not intruding upon, interfering with, or entangling itself in the political questions or policy or internal administration of any foreign State; nor shall anything contained in the said convention be construed to imply a relinquishment by the United States of America of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions."

At The Hague we pledged ourselves, in case we ever went to war, to observe certain broad general rules of decency and fair fighting. But at the same time we cleared ourselves from any responsibility for forcing other nations to observe similar pledges. And in 1906, when our delegates took part in the Algeiras Conference, which was to regulate the affairs of the distracted kingdom of Morocco, they followed the same formula there. While acquiescing in the new regime which guaranteed the independence and integrity of Morocco, we explicitly announced that we assumed no police responsibility for the enforcement of the treaty. And if any honest doubt was left as to our attitude in regard to the enforcement of Old World agreements, it was dispelled five years later, when our Government refused to protest against the overthrow of the *Acte d'Algeiras*.

We declined to be drawn into quarrels abroad which might endanger in any way our traditional policy.

Our second great tradition in international relations has been our persistent effort to secure a stable and equitable agreement of the nations upon such a maritime code as would assure to all the world a just freedom of the seas.

This effort was born of our vital need. For although it was possible for the Republic to keep aloof from the nineteenth century disputes that rent the Continent of Europe, we could not be indifferent to the way in which war was conducted at sea. In those early years of our national life, when we were still but a few communities ranged along the Atlantic coast, we were a seafaring people. At a time when our frontiersmen had not yet reached the Mississippi, the fame of our daring clipper ships had spread to all the seven seas. So while we could watch the triumphant march and the tragic countermarch of Napoleon's grand army with detached indifference, his Continental Blockade and the British Orders in Council at once affected the lives of our citizens intimately and disastrously.

So it was in the case of the Barbary pirates. We had no interest in the land quarrels and civil wars of the Barbary States, but we fought them for obstructing the freedom of the seas.

And in the decades ever since, although the imagination of our people

has been engrossed in the immense labor of winning the West, our Department of State has never lost sight of the compelling interest that we have upon the seas, and has constantly striven to gain the assent of all nations to a maritime code which should be framed and enforced by a joint responsibility. Various watchwords have arisen in this long controversy. We have urged the inviolability of private property at sea, we have asked for a liberal free list and a narrow definition of contraband. But our main insistence has not been on any such details. One salient idea has guided our diplomacy. The law of the sea must be founded not on might but on right and a common accord, upon a code binding all alike, which cannot be changed or set aside by the will of any one nation. Our idea has been not a weakening but a strengthening of legal restraint by the free will and agreement of all. We have asked nothing for ourselves that we do not ask for the whole world. The seas will never be free, in our American meaning, until all who sail thereon have had a voice in framing sea laws. The just governance of the seas must rest on the consent of the governed.

No other question of international polity has found the great powers more divided. But in our insistence on this fundamental principle, we have been strengthened by the support of many other countries. At times we have had the support of Great Britain. No one of our Secretaries of State has more clearly defined our ideal than has Viscount Grey, recently British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. None of our statesmen has ever gone so far as he in advocating limitation of the rights of belligerents on the sea. It was on his initiative that the international naval conference was summoned to London in 1909, and it was under his guidance that the eminent international lawyers and diplomats and admirals who gathered there drew up the Declaration of London.

While there were in that Declaration sections that did not quite meet our approval and that we should have liked to amend, the document was from our point of view a tremendous step in advance. For although, like any effort to concisely formulate the broad principles of equity, it did not wholly succeed in its purpose, it was at least an honest attempt to arrive at an agreement on a complete international code of sea law, based upon mutual consent and not to be altered by any belligerent in the heat of the conflict.

But the Declaration of London was not ratified by the British Parliament, for the point of view prevailing then in England was that a power dependent almost wholly upon its navy for protection could not safely accept further limitations upon action at sea unless there were compensating limitations on land powers. And this latter concession Germany consistently refused

to make. The conference therefore came to naught. And the London Declaration having been rejected by the strongest maritime power, its indorsement was postponed by all the other countries involved. Our motives, however, remained unchanged; and our Government persisted in its purpose to secure a general ratification either of this declaration or of some similar maritime code.

There has been in our diplomacy one more outstanding aspiration. We have constantly sought to substitute judicial for military settlement of disputes between nations.

The genesis of this idea dates from the discussions over the Federal organization of our thirteen original States, which were almost as jealous of their sovereignties as are the nations of Europe today. The first great step toward the League of Honor, which we hope will at last bring peace to the world, was taken when our thirteen States agreed to disarm and submit all their disputes to the high tribunal of the new federation.

And this idea of an interstate court, which except at the time of our Civil War has given this Nation internal peace, has profoundly influenced our foreign policy. Of our efforts to bring others to our way of thinking, a historical resume was presented by our delegates at the First Hague Conference. A project was submitted there for the formation of a world court. And a few years later Mr. Root, our Secretary of State, in instructing our delegates to the Second Conference at The Hague, laid especial emphasis on this same international ideal.

We have taken a particular pride in being in the vanguard of this movement for the peaceable settlement by process of law of all disputes between nations. And these efforts have not been without success. For although the last few decades have seen this principle time and again put under a terrific strain, no nation has dared to go to war against the award of a court of arbitration. The stupendous possibilities that lie in arbitration for solving international problems, promoting liberal principles, and safeguarding human life had been amply demonstrated before the present war began.

But in the discussions at The Hague, largely through the resistance of the German Empire and its satellites, the efforts of our delegates and those of other Governments to bring about a general treaty of compulsory arbitration had failed. And therefore this nation, having been thwarted in its attempt to secure a general agreement, began negotiations with all those nations which like our own preferred the methods of law and peace, with the purpose of effecting dual arbitration treaties. And before the end of 1914 we had signed far-reaching treaties with thirty nations, twenty of which

had been duly ratified and proclaimed. But in this work, too, we were made to feel the same opposition as at The Hague. For while Great Britain, France, Russia and Italy cordially welcomed our overtures, the German and Austro-Hungarian Empires were noticeably absent from the list of those nations who desired by specific agreements in advance to minimize the danger of war.

On the eve of the present conflict, our position toward other nations might have been summarized under three heads:

I. The Monroe Doctrine.—We had pledged ourselves to defend the New World from European aggression, and we had by word and deed made it clear that we would not intervene in any European dispute.

II. The freedom of the seas.—In every naval conference our influence had been given in support of the principle that sea law to be just and worthy of general respect must be based on the consent of the governed.

III. Arbitration.—As we had secured peace at home by referring interstate disputes to a federal tribunal, we urged a similar settlement of international controversies. Our ideal was a permanent world court. We had already signed arbitration treaties not only with great powers which might conceivably attack us, but even more freely with weaker neighbors in order to show our good faith in recognizing the equality of all nations both great and small. We had made plain to the nations our purpose to forestall by every means in our power the recurrence of wars in the world.

The outbreak of war in 1914 caught this Nation by surprise. The peoples of Europe had had at least some warnings of the coming storm, but to us such a blind, savage onslaught on the ideals of civilization had appeared impossible.

The war was incomprehensible. Either side was championed here by millions living among us who were of European birth. Their contradictory accusations threw our thoughts into disarray, and in the first chaotic days we could see no clear issue that affected our national policy. There was no direct assault on our rights. It seemed at first to most of us a purely European dispute, and our minds were not prepared to take sides in such a conflict. The President's proclamation of neutrality was received by us as natural and inevitable. It was quickly followed by his appeal to "the citizens of the Republic".

"Every man who really loves America will act and speak in the true spirit of neutrality," he said, "which is the spirit of impartiality and fairness and friendliness to all concerned. * * * It will be easy to excite passion and difficulty to allay it." He expressed the fear that our Nation might become

divided in camps of hostile opinion. "Such divisions among us * * * might seriously stand in the way of the proper performance of our duty as the one great nation at peace, the one people holding itself ready to play a part of impartial mediation and speak counsels of peace and accommodation, not as a partisan, but as a friend."

This purpose—the preservation of a strict neutrality in order that later we might be of use in the great task of mediation—dominated all the President's early speeches.

"We are the mediating Nation of the world," he declared in an address on April 20, 1915. "We are compounded of the nations of the world; we mediate their blood, we mediate their traditions, we mediate their sentiments, their tastes, their passions; we are ourselves compounded of those things. We are, therefore, able to understand them in the compound, not separately as partisans, but unitedly as knowing and comprehending and embodying them all. It is in that sense that I mean that America is a mediating Nation."

American neutrality, in those first months of the great war, was beyond any question, real.

But the spirit of neutrality was not easy to maintain. Public opinion was deeply stirred by the German invasion of Belgium and by reports of atrocities there. The Royal Belgian Commission, which came in September, 1914, to lay their country's cause for complaint before our National Government, was received with sympathy and respect. The President in his reply reserved our decision in the affair. It was the only course he could take without an abrupt departure from our most treasured traditions of non-interference in Old World disputes. But the sympathy of America went out to the Belgians in their heroic tragedy, and from every section of our land, money contributions and supplies of food and clothing poured over to the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which was under the able management of our fellow countrymen abroad.

Still, the thought of taking an active part in this European war was very far from most of our minds. The Nation shared with the President the belief that by maintaining a strict neutrality we could best serve Europe at the end as impartial mediators.

But in the very first days of the war, our Government foresaw that complications on the seas might put us in grave risk of being drawn into the conflict. No neutral nation could foretell what violations of its vital interests at sea might be attempted by the belligerents. And so, on August 6, 1914, our Secretary of State dispatched an identical note to all the powers then at war, calling attention to the risk of serious trouble arising out of this uncer-

tainty of neutrals as to their maritime rights and proposing that the Declaration of London be accepted by all nations for the duration of the war.

But the British Government's response, while expressing sympathy with the purpose of our suggestion and declaring their "keen desire to consult so far as possible the interests of neutral countries", announced their decision "to adopt generally the rules of the Declaration in question, subject to certain modifications and additions which they judge indispensable to the efficient conduct of their naval operations". The Declaration had not been indorsed by any power in time of peace, and there was no legal obligation on Great Britain to accept it. Her reply, however, was disappointing, for it did nothing to clarify the situation. Great Britain recognized as binding certain long accepted principles of international law and sought now to apply them to the peculiar and unforeseen conditions of this war. But these principles were often vague and therefore full of dangerous possibilities of friction.

Controversies soon arose between Great Britain and this Nation. In practice their ruling sometimes seemed to our Government inconsistent with the spirit of international law, and especially with the established precedents which they invoked. But painful as this divergence of opinion sometimes was, it did not seriously threaten our position of neutrality, for the issues that arose involved only rights of property and were amply covered by the arbitration treaty signed only a short time before by Great Britain and the United States.

And this controversy led to a clearer understanding on our part of the British attitude toward our ideal of the freedom of the seas. They were not willing to accept our classification of the seas as being distinct from the Old World. We had confined our interest to matters affecting rights at sea and had kept carefully aloof from issues affecting the interests of European nations on land. The British were interested in both. They explained that they had participated in the London naval conference in the hope that it would lead to a sound and liberal entente in the interest of the rights of all nations on the sea and on the land as well, and that they had refused to ratify the London Declaration because no compensating accord on the Continent had resulted. They could not afford to decrease the striking power of their navy unless their powerful neighbors on land agreed to decrease their armies.

That this attitude of England deeply impressed our Government is shown by the increasing attention given by the United States to the search for ways and means of insuring at the end of the war, a lasting peace for all the world.

The address of our President, on May 27, 1916, before the League to Enforce Peace was a milestone in our history. He outlined the main principles on which a stable peace must rest, principles plainly indicating that this Nation would have to give up its position of isolation and assume the responsibilities of a world power. The President said:

"So sincerely do we believe these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that the United States is willing to become a partner in any feasible association of nations formed in order to realize these objects and make them secure against violation."

It was a new and significant note in our foreign policy. But the mind of America had learned much in the long bitter months of war. Future historians will make charts of this remarkable evolution in our public opinion: the gradual abandonment of the illusion of isolation; the slow growth of a realization that we could not win freedom on sea—for us a vital interest—unless we consented to do our share in maintaining freedom on land as well, and that we could not have peace in the world—the peace we loved and needed for the perfection of our democracy—unless we were willing and prepared to help to restrain any nation that willfully endangered the peace of the whole world family.

Had this address of the President come before the war, there would have arisen a storm of protest from all sections of the land. But in May, 1916, the Nation's response was emphatic approval.

In the meantime, although our neutral rights were not brought into question by Germany as early as by England, the German controversy was infinitely more serious.

For any dissensions that might arise, no arbitration treaty existed between the United States and the German Government. This was from no fault of ours. We had tried to establish with Germany the same treaty relations we had with Great Britain and nineteen other nations. But these overtures had been rejected. And this action on the part of the Imperial German Government was only one example of its whole system of diplomacy. In both conferences at The Hague it had been the German delegates who were the most active in blocking all projects for the pacific settlement of disputes between nations. They had preferred to limit international relations to the old modes of diplomacy and war. It was therefore obvious from the first that any controversy with the German Government would be exceedingly serious; for if it could not be solved by direct diplomatic conversations, there was no recourse except to war.

From such conversations there is small hope of satisfactory results unless

the good faith of both sides is profound. If either side lacks good faith, or reveals in all its actions an insidious hostility, diplomacy is of no avail. And so it has proved in the present case.

In the first year of the war the Government of Germany stirred up among its people a feeling of resentment against the United States on account of our insistence upon our right as a neutral nation to trade in munitions with the belligerent powers. Our legal right in the matter was not seriously questioned by Germany. She could not have done so consistently, for as recently as the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913 both Germany and Austria sold munitions to the belligerents. Their appeals to us in the present war were not to observe international law, but to revise it in their interest. And these appeals they tried to make on moral and humanitarian grounds. But upon "the moral issue" involved, the stand taken by the United States was consistent with its traditional policy and with obvious common sense. For if, with all other neutrals, we refused to sell munitions to belligerents, we could never in time of a war of our own obtain munitions from neutrals, and the nation which had accumulated the largest reserves of war supplies in time of peace would be assured of victory. The militarist state that invested its money in arsenals would be at a fatal advantage over the free people who invested their wealth in schools. To write into international law that neutrals should not trade in munitions would be to hand over the world to the rule of the nation with the largest armament factories. Such a policy the United States of America could not accept.

But our principal controversy with the German Government, and the one which rendered the situation at once acute, rose out of their announcement of a sea zone where their submarines would operate in violation of all accepted principles of international law. Our indignation at such a threat was soon rendered passionate by the sinking of the *Lusitania*. This attack upon our rights was not only grossly illegal; it defied the fundamental concepts of humanity. Aggravating restraints on our trade were grievances which could be settled by litigation after the war, but the wanton murder of peaceable men and of innocent women and children, citizens of a nation with which Germany was at peace, was a crime against the civilized world which could never be settled in any court. Our Government, inspired still by a desire to preserve peace if possible, used every resource of diplomacy to force the German Government to abandon such attacks. This diplomatic correspondence proves beyond doubt that our Government sought by every honorable means to preserve faith in that mutual sincerity between nations which is the only basis of sound diplomatic interchange.

But evidence of the bad faith of the Imperial German Government soon piled up on every hand. Honest efforts on our part to establish a firm basis of good neighborliness with the German people were met by their Government with quibbles, misrepresentations, and counter accusations against their enemies abroad. And meanwhile in this country official agents of the Central Powers—protected from criminal prosecution by diplomatic immunity—conspired against our internal peace, placed spies and agents provocateurs throughout the length and breadth of our land, and even in high positions of trust in departments of our Government. While expressing a cordial friendship for the people of the United States, the Government of Germany had its agents at work both in Latin America and Japan. They bought or subsidized papers and supported speakers there to rouse feelings of bitterness and distrust against us in those friendly nations, in order to embroil us in war. They were inciting to insurrection in Cuba, in Haiti, and in Santo Domingo; their hostile hand was stretched out to take the Danish Islands; and everywhere in South America they were abroad sowing the seeds of dissension, trying to stir up one nation against another and all against the United States. In their sum these various operations amounted to direct assault upon the Monroe Doctrine. And even if we had given up our right to travel on the sea, even if we had surrendered to German threats and abandoned our legitimate trade in munitions, the German offensive in the New World, in our own land and among our neighbors, was becoming too serious to be ignored.

So long as it was possible, the Government of the United States tried to believe that such activities, the evidence of which was already in a large measure at hand, were the work of irresponsible and misguided individuals. It was only reluctantly, in the face of overwhelming proof, that the recall of the Austro-Hungarian ambassador and of the German military and naval attaches was demanded. Proof of their criminal violations of our hospitality was presented to their Governments. But these Governments in reply offered no apologies nor did they issue reprimands. It became clear that such intrigue was their settled policy.

In the meantime the attacks of the German submarines upon the lives and property of American citizens had gone on; the protests of our Government were now sharp and ominous; and this Nation was rapidly being drawn into a state of war. As the President said in Topeka, on February 2, 1916:

"We are not going to invade any nation's right. But suppose, my fellow countrymen, some nation should invade our rights. What then? * * * I have come here to tell you that the difficulties of our foreign policy * * * daily

increase in number and intricacy and in danger, and I would be derelict to my duty to you if I did not deal with you in these matters with the utmost candor, and tell you that it may be necessary to use the force of the United States to do." The next day at St. Louis, he repeated his warning: "The danger is not from within, gentlemen, it is from without; and I am bound to tell you that that danger is constant and immediate, not because anything new has happened, not because there has been any change in our international relationships within recent weeks or months, but because the danger comes with every turn of events."

The break would have come sooner if our Government had not been restrained by the hope that saner counsels might still prevail in Germany. For it was well known to us that the German people had to a very large extent been kept in ignorance of many of the secret crimes of their Government against us. And the pressure of a faction of German public opinion less hostile to this country was shown when their Government acquiesced to some degree in our demands, at the time of the Sussex outrage, and for nearly a year maintained at least a pretense of observing the pledge they had made to us. The tension was abated.

While the war spirit was growing in some sections of our Nation, there was still no widespread desire to take part in the conflict abroad; for the tradition of non-interference in Europe's political affairs was too deeply rooted in our national life to be easily overthrown. Moreover, two other considerations strengthened our Government in its efforts to remain neutral in this war. The first was our traditional sense of responsibility toward all the republics of the New World. Throughout the crisis our Government was in constant communication with the countries of Central and South America. They, too, preferred the ways of peace. And there was a very obvious obligation upon us to safeguard their interests with our own. The second consideration, which had been so often developed in the President's speeches, was the hope that by keeping aloof from the bitter passions abroad, by preserving untroubled here the holy ideals of civilized intercourse between nations, we might be free at the end of this war to bind up the wounds of the conflict, to be the restorers and rebuilders of the wrecked structure of the world.

All these motives held us back, but it was not long until we were beset by further complications. We soon had reason to believe that the recent compliance of the German Government had not been made to us in good faith and was only temporary; and by the end of 1916 it was plain that our neutral status had again been made unsafe through the ever-

increasing aggressiveness of the German autocracy. There was general agreement here with the statement of our President, on October 26, 1916, that this conflict was the last great war involving the world in which we could remain neutral.

It was in this frame of mind, fearing we might be drawn into the war if it did not soon come to an end, that the President began the preparation of his note, asking the belligerent powers to define their war aims. But before he had completed it, the world was surprised by the peace move of the German Government—an identical note on behalf of the German Empire, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, sent through neutral powers on December 12, 1916, to the governments of the Allies, proposing negotiations for peace. While expressing the wish to end this war—"a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity"—the greater portion of the note was couched in terms that gave small hope of a lasting peace. Boasting of German conquests, "the glorious deeds of our armies," the note implanted in neutral minds the belief that it was the purpose of the Imperial German Government to insist upon such conditions as would leave all Central Europe under German dominance and so build up an Empire which would menace the whole liberal world.

Moreover, the German proposal was accompanied by a thinly veiled threat to all neutral nations; and from a thousand sources, official and unofficial, the word came to Washington that unless the neutrals used their influence to bring the war to an end on terms dictated from Berlin, Germany and her allies would consider themselves henceforth free from any obligations to respect the rights of neutrals. The Kaiser ordered the neutrals to exert pressure on the Entente to bring the war to an abrupt end, or to beware of the consequences. Clear warnings were brought to our Government that if the German peace move should not be successful, the submarines would be unleashed for a more intense and ruthless war upon all commerce.

On the 18th of December, the President dispatched his note to all the belligerent powers, asking them to define their war aims. There was still hope in our minds that the mutual suspicions between the warring powers might be decreased, and the menace of future German aggression and dominance be removed, by finding a guaranty of good faith in a League of Nations. There was a chance that by the creation of such a league as part of the peace negotiations, the war could now be brought to an end before our Nation was involved. Two statements issued to the press by our Secretary of State, upon the day the note was dispatched, threw a clear light on the seriousness

with which our Government viewed the crisis. From this point, events moved rapidly. The powers of the Entente replied to the German peace note. Neutral nations took action on the note of the President, and from both belligerents replies to this note were soon in our hands.

The German reply was evasive—in accord with their traditional preference for diplomacy behind closed doors. Refusing to state to the world their terms, Germany and her allies merely proposed a conference. They adjourned all discussion of any plan for a league of peace until after hostilities should end.

The response of the Entente Powers was frank and in harmony with our principal purpose. Many questions raised in the statement of their aims were so purely European in character as to have small interest for us; but our great concern in Europe was the lasting restoration of peace, and it was clear that this was also the chief interest of the Entente Nations. As to the wisdom of some of the measures they proposed toward this end, we might differ in opinion, but the trend of their proposals was the establishment of just frontiers based on the rights of all nations, the small as well as the great, to decide their own destinies.

The aims of the belligerents were now becoming clear. From the outbreak of hostilities the German Government had claimed that it was fighting a war of defense. But the tone of its recent proposals had been that of a conqueror. It sought a peace based on victory. The central empires aspired to extend their domination over other races. They were willing to make liberal terms to any one of their enemies, in a separate peace which would free their hands to crush other opponents. But they were not willing to accept any peace which did not, all fronts considered, leave them victors and the dominating imperial power of Europe. The war aims of the Entente showed a determination to thwart this ambition of the Imperial German Government. Against the German peace to further German growth and aggression the Entente Powers offered a plan for a European peace that should make the whole continent secure.

At this juncture the President read his address to the Senate, on January 22, 1917, in which he outlined the kind of peace the United States of America could join in guaranteeing. His words were addressed not only to the Senate and this Nation but to people of all countries.

“May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak

their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear."

The address was a rebuke to those who still cherished dreams of a world dominated by one nation. For the peace he outlined was not that of a victorious emperor, it was not the peace of Caesar. It was in behalf of all the world, and it was a peace of the people.

"No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

"I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

"And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact, be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation.

"It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armament and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe. And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. * * * There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.

"Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely

necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind."

If there were any doubts in our minds as to which of the great alliances was the more in sympathy with these ideals, it was removed by the popular response abroad to this address of the President. For while exception was taken to some parts of it in Britain and France, it was plain that so far as the peoples of the Entente were concerned the President had been amply justified in stating that he spoke for all forward-looking, liberal-minded men and women. It was not so in Germany. The people there who could be reached, and whose hearts were stirred by this enunciation of the principles of a people's peace, were too few or too oppressed to make their voices heard in the councils of their nation. Already, on January 16, 1917, unknown to the people of Germany, Herr Zimmerman, their Secretary of Foreign Affairs, had secretly dispatched a note to their minister in Mexico, informing him of the German intention to repudiate the Sussex pledge and instructing him to offer to the Mexican Government New Mexico and Arizona, if Mexico would join with Japan in attacking the United States.

In the new year of 1917, as through our acceptance of world responsibilities so plainly indicated in the President's utterances in regard to a league of nations, we felt ourselves now drawing nearer to a full accord with the powers of the Entente; and as on the other hand we found ourselves more and more outraged at the German Government's methods of conducting warfare, and their brutal treatment of people in their conquered lands; as we more and more uncovered their hostile intrigues against the peace of the New World; and above all, as the sinister and anti-democratic ideals of their ruling class became manifest in their maneuvers for a peace of conquest—the Imperial German Government abruptly threw aside the mask.

On the last day of January, 1917, Count Bernstorff handed to Mr. Lansing a note in which his Government announced its purpose to intensify and render more ruthless the operations of their submarines at sea, in a manner against which our Government had protested from the beginning. The German Chancellor also stated before the Imperial Diet that the reason this ruthless policy had not been earlier employed was simply because the Imperial Government had not then been ready to act. In brief, under the guise of friendship and the cloak of false promises, it had been preparing this attack.

This was the direct challenge. There was no possible answer except to hand their ambassador his passports and so have done with a diplomatic correspondence which had been vitiated from the start by the often proved bad faith of the Imperial Government.

On the same day, February 3, 1917, the President addressed both Houses of our Congress and announced the complete severance of our relations with Germany. The reluctance with which he took this step was evident in every word. But diplomacy had failed, and it would have been the hollowest pretense to maintain relations. At the same time, however, he made it plain that he did not regard this act as tantamount to a declaration of war. Here for the first time the President made his sharp distinction between government and people in undemocratic lands:

"We are the sincere friends of the German people," he said, "and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. * * * God grant we may not be challenged by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany."

In this address of the President, and in its indorsement by the Senate, there was a solemn warning; for we still had hope that the German Government might hesitate to drive us to war. But it was soon evident that our warning had fallen on deaf ears. The tortuous ways and means of German official diplomacy were clearly shown in the negotiations opened by them through the Swiss legation on the 10th of February. In no word of their proposals did the German Government meet the real issue between us. And our State Department replied that no minor negotiations could be entertained until the main issue had been met by the withdrawal of the submarine order.

By the 1st of March it had become plain that the Imperial Government, unrestrained by the warning in the President's address to Congress on February 3, was determined to make good its threat. The President then again appeared before Congress to report the development of the crisis and to ask the approval of the Representatives of the Nation for the course of armed neutrality upon which, under his constitutional authority, he had now determined. More than 500 of the 531 members of the two Houses of Congress showed themselves ready and anxious to act; and the Armed Neutrality Declaration would have been accepted if it had not been for the legal death of the Sixty-fourth Congress on March 4.

No "overt" act, however, was ordered by our Government until Count Bernstorff had reached Berlin and Mr. Gerard was in Washington. For the German ambassador on his departure had begged that no irrevocable

decision should be taken until he had had the chance to make one final plea for peace to his sovereign. We do not know the nature of his report to the Kaiser; we know only that, even if he kept his pledge and urged an eleventh-hour revocation of the submarine order, he was unable to sway the policy of the Imperial Government.

And so, having exhausted every resource of patience, our Government on the 12th of March finally issued orders to place armed guards on our merchant ships.

With the definite break in diplomatic relations there vanished the last vestige of cordiality toward the Government of Germany. Our attitude was now to change. So long as we had maintained a strict neutrality in the war, for the reason that circumstances might arise in which Europe would have need of an impartial mediator, for us to have given official heed to the accusation of either party would have been to pre-judge the case before all the evidence was in. But now at last, with the breaking of friendly relations with the German Government, we were relieved of the oppressive duty of endeavoring to maintain a judicial detachment from the rights and wrongs involved in the war. We were no longer the outside observers striving to hold an even balance of judgment between disputants. One party by direct attack upon our rights and liberties was forcing us into the conflict. And, much as we had hoped to keep out of the fray, it was no little relief to be free at last from that reserve which is expected of a judge.

Much evidence had been presented to us of things so abhorrent to our ideas of humanity that they had seemed incredible, things we had been loath to believe, and with heavy hearts we had sought to reserve our judgment. But with the breaking of relations with the Government of Germany that duty at last was ended. The perfidy of that Government in its dealings with this Nation relieved us of the necessity of striving to give them the benefit of the doubt in regard to their crimes abroad. The Government which under cover of profuse professions of friendship had tried to embroil us in war with Mexico and Japan could not expect us to believe in its good faith in other matters. The men whose paid agents dynamited our factories here were capable of the infamies reported against them over the sea. Their Government's protestations, that their purpose was self-defense and the freeing of small nations, fell like a house of cards before the revelation of their "peace terms".

And judging the German Government now in the light of our own experience through the long and patient years of our honest attempt to keep the peace, we could see the Great Autocracy and read her record through the

war. And we found that record damnable. Beginning long before the war in Prussian opposition to every effort that was made by other nations and our own to do away with warfare, the story of the Autocracy has been one of vast preparations for war combined with an attitude of arrogant intolerance toward all other points of view, all other systems of government, all other hopes and dreams of men. With a fanatical faith in the destiny of German Kultur as the system that must rule the world, the Imperial Government's actions have through years of boasting, double dealing, and deceit tended toward aggression upon the rights of others. And if there still be any doubt as to which nation began this war, there can be no uncertainty as to which one was most prepared, most exultant at the chance, and ready instantly to march upon other nations—even those who had given no offense. The wholesale depredations and hideous atrocities in Belgium and in Serbia were doubtless part and parcel with the Imperial Government's purpose to terrorize small nations into abject submission for generations to come. But in this the Autocracy has been blind. For its record in those countries, and in Poland and in northern France, has given not only to the Allies but to liberal peoples throughout the world the conviction that this menace to human liberties everywhere must be utterly shorn of its power for harm.

For the evil it has effected has ranged far out of Europe—out upon the open seas, where its submarines in defiance of law and the concepts of humanity have blown up neutral vessels and covered the waves with the dead and the dying, men and women and children alike. Its agents have conspired against the peace of neutral nations everywhere, sowing the seeds of dissension, ceaselessly endeavoring by tortuous methods of deceit, of bribery, false promises, and intimidation, to stir up brother nations one against the other, in order that the liberal world might not be able to unite, in order that the Autocracy might emerge triumphant from the war.

All this we know from our own experience with the Imperial Government. As they have dealt with Europe, so they have dealt with us and with all mankind. And so out of these years the conviction has grown that until the German Nation is divested of such rulers, democracy cannot be safe.

There remained but one element to confuse the issue. One other great autocracy, the Government of the Russian Czar, had long been hostile to free institutions; it had been a stronghold of tyrannies reaching far back into the past; and its presence among the Allies had seemed to be in discord with the great liberal principles they were upholding in this war. Russia had been a source of doubt. Repeatedly during the conflict, liberal

Europe had been startled by the news of secret accord between the Kaiser and the Czar.

But now at this crucial time for our Nation, on the eve of our entrance into the war, the free men of all the world were thrilled and heartened by the news that the people of Russia had risen to throw off their Government and found a new democracy; and the torch of freedom in Russia lit up the last dark phases of the situation abroad. Here indeed was a fit partner for the League of Honor. The conviction was finally crystallized in American minds and hearts that this war across the sea was no mere conflict between dynasties, but a stupendous civil war of all the world; a new campaign in the age-old war, the prize of which is liberty. Here at last was a struggle in which all who love freedom have a stake. Further neutrality on our part would have been a crime against our ancestors, who had given their lives that we might be free.

“The world must be made safe for democracy.”

On the 2d of April, 1917, the President read to the new Congress in his message, in which he asked the representatives of the Nation to declare the existence of a state of war, and in the early hours of the 6th of April, the House by an overwhelming vote accepted the joint resolution which had already passed the Senate:

“Whereas the Imperial German Government has committed repeated acts of war against the Government and the people of the United States of America: Therefore be it

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States, is hereby formally declared; and that the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to employ the entire naval and military forces of the United States and the resources of the Government to carry on war against the Imperial German Government; and to bring the conflict to a successful termination all the resources of the country are hereby pledged by the Congress of the United States.”

Neutrality was a thing of the past. The time had come when the President's proud prophecy was fulfilled:

“There will come that day when the world will say, ‘This America that we thought was full of a multitude of contrary counsels now speaks with the great volume of the heart's accord, and that great heart of America has behind it the supreme moral force of righteousness and hope and the liberty of mankind.’ ”



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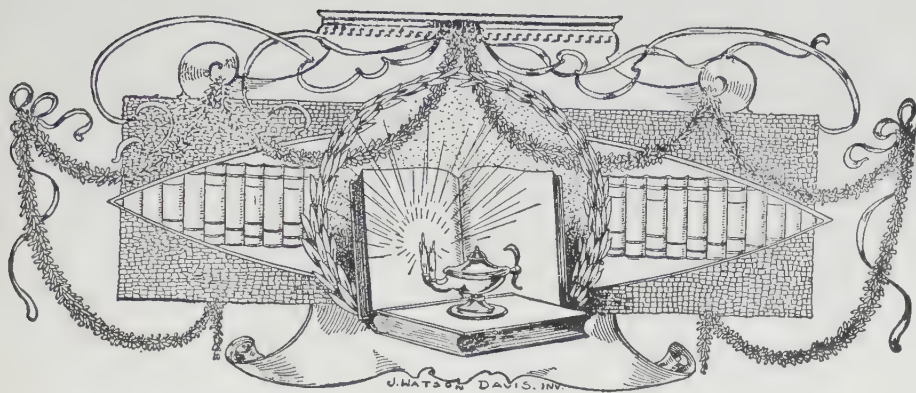
The Star Spangled Banner

O say, can you see by the dawn's early light,
What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last
gleaming,
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the peril-
ous fight,
O'er the ramparts we watched were so gallantly
streaming?
And the rockets' red glare, the bombs bursting in air,
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;
O say, does the star-spangled banner yet wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,
Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam,
In full glory reflected now shines on the stream;
'Tis the star-spangled banner—Oh, long may it wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

And where is that band who so vauntingly swore
That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion
A home and a country should leave us no more?
Their blood has washed out their foul footsteps'
pollution!
No refuge could save the hireling and slave
From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.

Oh, thus be it e'er when free men shall stand
Between their loved homes and the war's desolation;
Blest with victory and peace, may the Heaven-rescued
land
Praise the Power that hath made and preserved us a
nation!
Then conquer we must when our cause it is just,
And this be our motto, "In God is our trust";
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave.



GENERAL INDEX

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